

THE
PRIVATE JOURNAL
OF THE
MARQUESS OF HASTINGS
K. G.

Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India.

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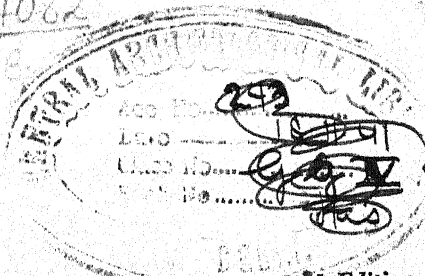


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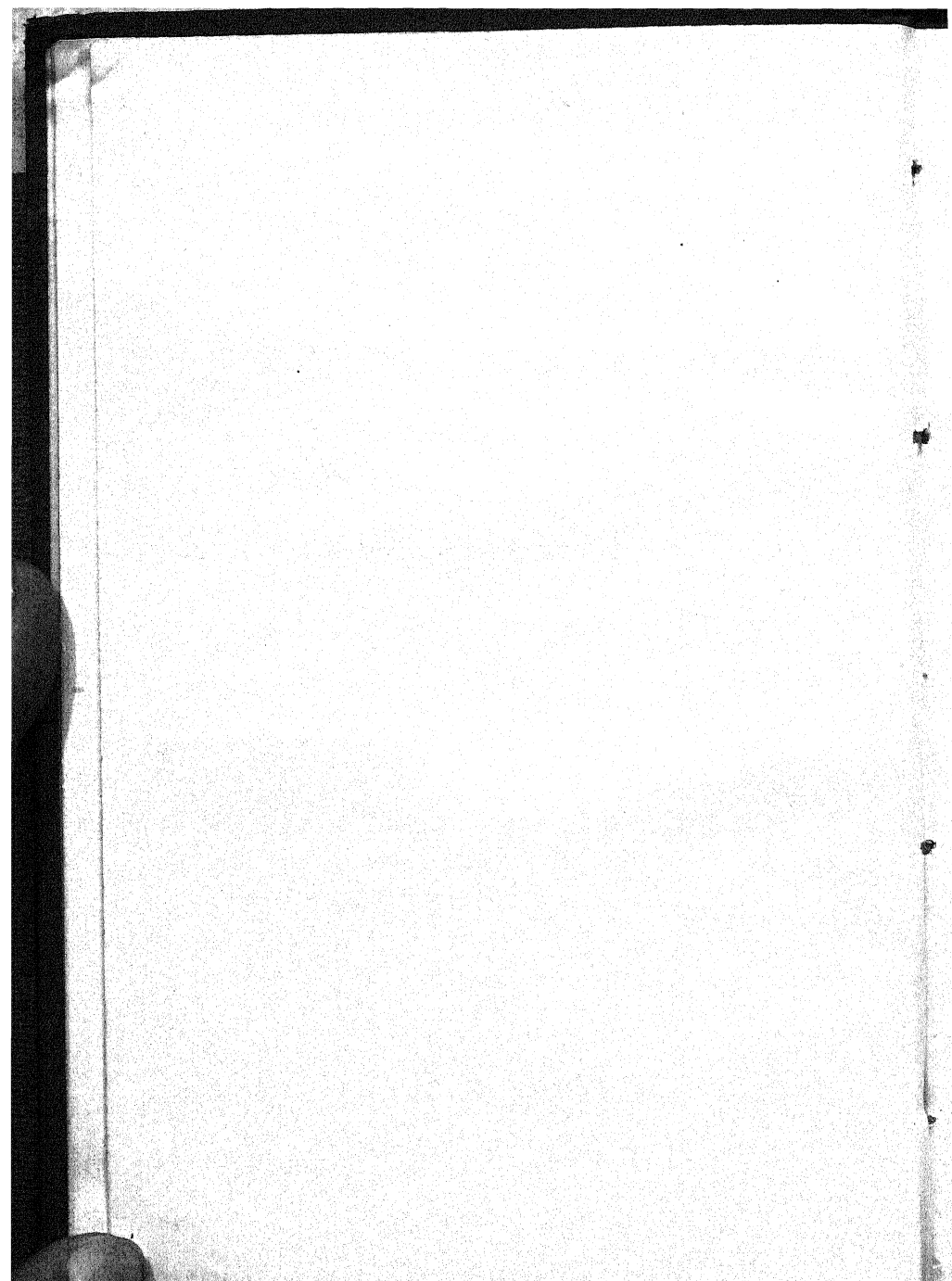
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PREFACE

FRANCIS, second Earl of Moira, afterwards created Marquess of Hastings, was appointed to the government of British India in the early part of 1813, which post He held for nine years. He was constituted both Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief by His own solicitation, not from an overweening love of power, but because He felt that under the then anxious state of Indian affairs, it would be impossible for Him to carry out His views of duty to His country with a divided authority; and He therefore stipulated, before He accepted the appointment, for the labour and responsibility of both offices. Nor was it from mercenary motives that He grasped at this lofty position, for He omitted to make any terms as to remuneration, and He yielded the question of adequate recompense when He found it was arranged that the salary of Governor-General only was to be assigned to Him, satisfied that the concentrated power gave Him additional means of usefulness. Even when in the field, at the head of the army, He did not receive the allowances of a general officer on active service. The East India Company, however, afterwards acknowledged their sense of His services by bestowing on His family two grants of money, in sums of 60,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* respectively.

But this pre-eminence was wisely obtained

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at any sacrifice; and the Almighty mercifully bestowed the bodily vigour, which enabled Him at His advanced age, for so many years, to maintain an unremitting exertion of mind which none of His successors (save Lord William Bentinck for a short time) have since attempted : for at an interesting period of Anglo-Indian history, Lord Hastings was capable of controlling the extensive machinery at one glance, and in this Journal He has noted many of the principles that guided Him. At a time like the present, when India absorbs so much general attention, it may be not only interesting, but useful to observe the impressions received even forty-five years since, by a man of mature age, of experience in life under various phases, and whose position afforded him an unlimited insight into all points, both civil and military, of this vast Eastern Empire.

This Journal was written for the purpose of recording for His children's information the principles upon which He acted. It is therefore strictly copied from the original MS., even to the very words; though the changes which are constantly obtaining in our language, tend to throw a look of antiquity and obscurity over what was in Lord Hastings' time polished English. It is only curtailed as to the voyage, then of six months' duration, and now so well-known that the details would be tedious; and some of the accounts of hunting expeditions are left out, as the too frequent recital of such scenes might

prove wearisome to strangers. It will be observed, that Lord Hastings abruptly concluded His Journal in December, 1818, though His government of India continued to January, 1823. He probably found that it was impossible to keep it with the immense labour of the ordinary duties of His double office, which, Lord William Bentinck, who for some months performed the same, expressed his astonishment that Lord Hastings' health and strength could stand for so many years. The following passage in his commonplace book shows the opinion Lord Hastings entertained of the usefulness of first impressions, and which He held even after He had left India. "Though it would not immediately suggest itself, reflection may excite the surmise that a person who comes newly into a country is likely to form a more just notion of its political position than others who have continually resided in that realm; the circumstances menacing its quiet having advanced upon the latter so gradually, as not to have roused apprehension by their growth, and being too familiar to suggest in their matured state due considerations of their tendency and importance."

It may be matter of surprise to some that, if worth publishing now, this Journal was not given earlier to the public; but there are many who feel as Walpole did respecting his biography, that personal narrations may come too near a public man's contemporaries; and till latterly India has not been a source of public interest,

inquiry being mainly confined to those connected with the country. Lord Hastings' daughters have, from these motives therefore, withheld the papers bequeathed to them until now: and the survivor of those "Companions of his Expedition" to whom He affectionately dedicates His Diary, which has been found in the arrangement of the mass of His papers, has only lately decided on the publication of her Father's "Private Journal," believing there are still many who will gladly recall in these pages the sentiments they have heard Him express when in life.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

In this edition an Index has been added. It is hoped readers will find it convenient for purpose of reference.

THE PUBLISHER.



DEDICATION

THIS Journal is undertaken for the sake of the Dear Little Companions of my Expedition. It will be both gratifying and useful to them in a future day to have their recollection of circumstances, revived, and to have many matters explained which they will be likely to have comprehended but imperfectly. At any rate, it will convince them of the solicitude felt for them by a fond Father.



THE
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OF
THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

THE EARL OF MOIRA embarked at Portsmouth, on board H.M.S. *The Stirling Castle*, under command of Admiral Sir Home Popham, accompanied by the Countess of Loudoun and Moira, and his three eldest children, on the 14th of April; and landed at Madras on the 11th of September, 1813.

SEPTEMBER 11th.—Made the land near Sadras at day-break. Ran along the coast, and anchored in Madras roads about twelve o'clock. The admiral, Sir Samuel Hood, and the staff-officers of the Presidency, came aboard to visit me. Soon after the admiral had retired, the Governor-General's flag (the union at the main topmasthead) was hoisted and was saluted by the admiral's ship and the other king's ships in the roads as well as by the fort. At five we left the ship, and landed amid a prodigious concourse of people. The first view was very striking. The notion of population conveyed by the immensity of the crowd, together with the novelty of the dresses and the tranquil demeanour of the individuals amid excessive pressure, marked to one's perception a state of society altogether different from what we had been accustomed to contemplate. The surf appeared insignificant, and the artifice of the native boatmen (who rowed us in a Massoulah boat) to make it be thought of consequence,

was easily seen through. Without doubt it is at times dangerous, as is the case in all tropical countries where there is a flat shore. I repaired through a double line of troops, passing across the fort to the Governor's house. There the judges and principal officers of the Presidency were introduced to me by Lieutenant-General Abercromby, who united for the time the functions of Governor and Commander-in-Chief. I thence went to the Ameer Baugh, which had been prepared for our reception. It is a garden palace built by Nawab of the Carnatic, at a period when the situation was retired and when he could make a variety in his mode of life by coming to it occasionally as a retreat. Now that country seats or villas are built all round it, there can be no temptation for the Nawab ever to visit it; on which account the Government has *borrowed* it of him, as a residence to be applied to the reception of the Governor-General whensoever he repairs to Madras. Servants hired by the Government were ready to attend us. The house is handsome and convenient, and the situation is as pleasant as one in a dead flat can be. Trays of fruit from the Nawab, with a letter of congratulation on our arrival, were ushered in in great form. I wrote a civil note of acknowledgment, which I afterwards understood was regarded as a particular politeness. It seemed to me that the returning a verbal compliment, or the making a secretary write on the occasion, would be a great deficiency in breeding. After dressing, we went to dine at the Governor's. All the principal ladies and gentlemen of the Presidency were there.

September 12th Sunday.—Went to divine service in the fort. The church is decorous, and the service was becomingly performed. After church, I received the judges and council at the Ameer Baugh. Wrote by express to Lord Minto. Dined with the Governor, a private party. Heard the details of the contest then raging for precedence between the daughters of peers and the wives of those who, from their station in the Company's service, were held to have a superior local rank. As the affair had been referred to the Governor-General in Council, I had not to give any opinion upon it;

and a hope which I was told had been entertained that I should indirectly decide the question by my choice of the lady whom I should hand out at this dinner was baffled by my adverting laughingly to the dispute while I gave one arm to Lady Hood (Lord Seaforth's daughter), and the other to Lady Strange, the wife of the Chief Justice.

September 13th.—The Governor came to me after breakfast, and we went in minute detail through the state of the Presidency. I found him not at all easy respecting the dispositions of the army, which he regarded as sullen, though not inclined to immediate outrage. I remarked that such a temper was not surprising when nothing had been done to soothe the dissatisfactions remaining after the late convulsion; since which period the army, conscious of its own anxiety to return to its duty, had been left to feel itself as only resting under an ungracious pardon. It was recommended by me that every opportunity should be seized to cheer the officers and reanimate their honest pride.

Lieutenant-General Abercromby observed that my commissions implied a more continued and active intervention of the Governor-General with the other Presidencies than had hitherto existed; that it was what he had expected; and that the utility of such a connection was in every view of public interest unquestionable. He said that the Nawab of the Carnatic had sent to express to him (the Governor) a hope that I would pay His Highness the first visit, as had been done by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Minto; but that he had answered His Highness, it was what he could not mention to me, as he was sure that, from the particular ground on which I stood, I must expect the Nawab to wait upon me. This the Governor said he had taken upon himself to determine, in consequence of my having the day before explained to him my purpose of holding up the Government at Calcutta with more form and state than had heretofore been maintained; a resolution which he strongly encouraged, professing his conviction that such a tone would be no less agreeable to individuals than useful in its influence on public concerns. He said the present procedure towards the Nawab appeared

to him essential from the impression it would make on the natives. I agreed perfectly with him.

After the Governor was gone, we had a party of jugglers for the amusement of the children. Their deceptions, though well managed, were not so striking as their skill in balancing and their extraordinary precision in throwing up and catching a number of balls in rapid rotation. For both these last achievements it seems necessary that the attention of the performer should be aided by the cadence of a song which his comrades chant to him with great earnestness. One trick merits investigation. The juggler put a small ball into his mouth, whence smoke immediately issued. Soon after, he blew out flame strong enough to consume flax at a little distance. The ball must have been of the phosphorous which ignites with moisture. But the retaining it in the mouth after it was inflamed depends on a secret worthy of being ascertained.

I had some of the staff and other officers to dine with me. Our table was as regularly conducted as if our household had been established for a year. I notice this to do justice to the attention and activity of the native servants, by whom alone everything was managed. An equal number of English servants, unaccustomed to act together, could not have been tutored to fulfil their business with similar accuracy.

September 14th.—Rode out immediately after gun-fire. I observed great numbers of the date-palm, and casually asked if the dates were good. It was answered that the trees here never produced any fruit. Can this be owing to the ignorance of the natives that male palms must be planted among the others to make the latter fruitful? I have spoken on the subject with several of the natives in the course of the morning, as well as with some of the oldest white inhabitants, and none of them had a notion that male palms were requisite for the fecundity of the date-tree. As all the plantations on the Choultry plain have been made within these thirty years, and there is no tree of spontaneous growth in that tract, it is possible that it may have been thought inadvisable to plant a tree which had been remarked as

never yielding fruit. The rendering of the date-trees in the vicinage of Madras prolific would be a great benefit to numbers of the lower classes; therefore I shall solicit Governor Farquhar to forward to Madras some young male palms from the botanic garden at the Isle of France. The dates, which are now consumed in considerable quantity at Madras, are all imported from Bussorah.

At eleven I had a levee; after which I received several individuals who had letters to me or particular applications to make. In the afternoon I began the study of various plans submitted to the Government for the constitution of the army and for the defence of the territory. These plans are entered on the records; and what related to position was explained by the Quartermaster-General's map. Dined at home with some of the officers of the ship and some persons particularly recommended to us.

September 15th.—Went, as soon as it was light, to the fort, in order to inspect the works and to enable myself to judge of the system of exterior fortification proposed for the black town. The drawings had been shown to me the day before by Major-General Trapaud, the chief engineer. Fort St. George is a very respectable fortress, such as ought to sustain a long siege could a regular army sit down before it. Everything was in excellent condition. The water in the tanks, of which there is six months' supply for 10,000 men, is remarkably transparent and sweet, though it is said to have been in the tanks above thirty years. This resource is necessary, lest an enemy should discover and cut off the pipes by which water is brought to the Fort from a considerable distance.

At eleven I received the visit of the Nawab, who came in great state, and dressed out with a profusion of jewels. I met him at the door, and, on his stepping from his carriage, embraced him, according to the etiquette, four times, giving three embraces to each of the three sons and the nephew whom he introduced to me. I led him upstairs, our arms being over each other's shoulders, while I gave my left arm to the eldest son. On a sofa drawn to the middle of the

room I made him take his seat to the right, placing myself next to him, and seating the eldest son on my left. On another sofa not so much advanced sat the other three princes. The Company's Persian secretary had a chair close in front of the Nawab and me, so as that he might interpret between us without being overheard by our respective attendants, who formed a circle around.

The conversation began by compliments—hopes that I and my family had not suffered by the length of the voyage, and inquiries relative to the King and the Prince Regent. He then adverted to the treaty, and professed his anxiety for an assurance that I should cause its provisions to be observed. I had been told that he had been under great alarm lest I should still further degrade his already abject condition; an apprehension probably entertained from his knowledge that (when the vacancy of the musnud was impending) application had been made to me in favour of the unfortunate young man set aside by our Government to make way for this individual. I answered that a treaty plighted the public faith of the nation, so that it must be my duty to maintain its terms according to their true spirit, which ought always to be construed most favourably for the party whose sole dependence was on the honour of the other. He did not attempt to conceal his gratification at this answer. After some desultory conversation, he said I had too much business to make it proper for him to trespass longer on me. I then called for otto of roses and rose-water, with which I perfumed his handkerchief, gave him pawn—the prepared betel and areca nut—and threw round his neck a chaplet of rose-coloured odoriferous flowers. This ceremony I had been instructed to perform without rising from my seat; a point to which the Government here attaches much importance. I went through the same ceremony to the elder son. Then the three other princes were made to rise and come up to me for the same compliment, the Nawab being particular in calling to each of them to make his obeisance in receiving it.

The chaplets provided for them were, according to rule, of only white flowers. We descended the stair in the original form. After I had embraced the Nawab at the carriage-door,

he took hold of both my hands, and stooping very low, placed his head between them, desiring the Persian secretary to explain that, by that act he threw himself and family under my protection. This was a gesture not indifferent for the native crowd who witnessed it; yet I know not if it did not excite in me much more lively sensations, from the reflection on the altered state of that family through its adherence to British interests. The cavalcade departed with a rapid reiteration of "How d'ye do, Governor-General?" from all the great personages. Subsequently the Nawab told the Persian secretary that he had never been so happy in his life as my expressions respecting the treaty had made him. He expatiated, with effusions of gratitude, on my tone of politeness, which appeared to me no more than the simple due of humanity towards a family so grievously humiliated by us.

I then received a number of officers and others who had come from the neighbouring stations to see me. After which I had another discussion on public business with the Governor. We drove out near sunset to see a part of the environs. The remarkable want of space in the residences of the natives, constructed principally of palm-leaves, irresistibly evinces the little hope there is that an open trade would find any market for those minor luxuries which form the principal article of British manufacture. The Governor, members of Council, judges, and their ladies, with some other distinguished individuals of the Residency, dined with us.

September 16th.—Set out at dawn of day to review on the open ground in front of the fort the troops stationed at Madras. Very heavy rain had fallen in the night, accompanied by much lightning, during which the jackals were loudly clamorous in our garden. As those animals are rather useful in destroying minor vermin and carrion, they meet with little annoyance from either whites or natives. The morning was fine; the ground had been improved by the wet. The line consisted of the King's 89th regiment, five battalions of sepoy and a rifle corps, and the Governor's bodyguard. They were in perfectly good order. Their deploying from column

and changes of front were done with great regularity and precision. I seized this opportunity to address to the whole of the Madras army an order calculated to cheer its feelings and awaken its confidence.

At eleven I went, according to appointment, to return the Nawab's visit. The preparation for our reception was in all the style of barbaric pomp, and exhibited what I suppose has been always the case with Asiatic magnificence, the oddest mixture of splendour and squalid destitution.

On entering the gate, the guard-houses, and other lodgments for attendants, presented themselves in the shape of wretched hovels. All his guards, horse and foot, were drawn out. The foot fell sadly short of our sepoys—whom they had daily before their eyes—and whom they obviously imitated in discipline as well as dress. The horse looked better, yet still with immeasurable inferiority of appearance to the bodyguard which attended me. The whole saluted, lowering their standards. Four elephants and six camels were drawn out, decorated with gaudy trappings, and striking from richness as well as novelty. Close to these a mass of naked palankeen-bearers offered a singular contrast. There was not less discrepancy in the music. The breathings of a very soft kind of flute were curiously interrupted by the braying of a coarse sort of trumpet, and the rattle of most discordant drums. The Nawab met me at the door of his durbar. After the ceremony of embraces, I entered the hall, when His Highness begged that he might introduce the principal Mahomedan sirdars to me. They were chiefly respectable and modest-looking individuals, to whom I showed as much courtesy as the occasion would admit.

He then led me to the sofa, placing me on the left (the place of honour with them), and seating himself in the middle, with his eldest son on the right. My suite were placed on chairs in a semi-circle to the right. Some attendants stood behind the sofa. The other Moslems sat on low cushions close to the wall of the durbar on either side, and by the uniformity of their white muslin robes, made an advantageous show. A glass-door flanked our sofa. The curtain which covered it on the inside was every moment partially withdrawn; so

that I imagine the Begum and other women were gratifying their curiosity. The Nawab said that the expressions I had used to him the day before had been balm to him; for that in his situation, he must unavoidably be anxious upon every change in the Government. He requested that I would look at the letters which he had received from the King and the Court of Directors on his accession to the musnud, as well as at one from Lord Cornwallis. Having perused them, I said that my language had not been unweighed; for, that the existence of a specific treaty would have bound me to strict observance of what I found so settled, even had the greatest political difference reigned between me and those who made the arrangement. I felt pledged to that principle of duty, and to the fulfilment of its true spirit of personal honour. He appeared overjoyed, and asked whether I wished to have his two sons under my eye at Calcutta, as Lord Cornwallis had had the children of Tippoo. I answered, that the case was widely different between a vanquished enemy and the representative of a family which had always preserved the most faithful alliance; and added that nothing should induce me ever to give a colour for others to imply a doubt which I myself could not for an instant entertain. Learning that our departure was fixed for seven o'clock on Saturday morning, he insisted on attending us at the beach, and seeing us embark.

There was no controlling this resolution, though I resisted it as much as possible.

When I proposed to take my leave, he went through the ceremony which I had performed to him, hanging round my neck a long chain composed of Arabian jasmine, with red roses at intervals strung on silk, elegant as well as fragrant. To Sir Home Popham and the other gentlemen who accompanied me, he gave white chaplets, with the compliment of pawn and rose-water. As we retired through the hall, he led me up to a full-length portrait of the Prince Regent, telling me that he knew the Prince and I had lived for years as brothers, therefore he was gratified in showing to me the picture. At the door the embraces were repeated; and I departed with a peal of "How d'ye do, Governor-General?"

To my conception nothing can be more uncomfortable

than the situation of this man. Had he the spending of his vast income in the unshackled independence of a private individual, the varied enjoyments of life would be at his command; but his character of a sovereign prince, shorn of every exercise of power, subjects him to perpetual misrepresentation amid a crowd of listless and unemployed attendants; whilst its pretensions (capable of being dangerously applied) oblige the British Government to maintain a vigilance over him, which restricts him from many innocent relaxations. The sports of the field and change of place might give some relief in the vacuity of his life; yet in these he cannot indulge himself without a previous assent, difficult to attain even after slow and discouraging negotiation. The magnificence of his establishment, therefore, appeared to me only lamentable; inasmuch as its natural consequence was to make the grievousness of his position more sensible. On quitting the Nawab's palace, I dismissed part of the guards, with all the Chobdars and Peons, and then returned, at the admiral's house on Choultry Plain, the visit which Sir Samuel Hood had made to me the *Stirling Castle*. Reaching home, I found a prodigious dinner sent (as is the form when the Governor visits Chepauk Palace) from the Nawab. I was of course under the necessity of looking at it and admiring it; and to say the truth the dishes seemed well-dressed, and in remarkably good condition, considering the distance they had come. Having made a present to the persons who had the charge of it, I caused the dinner to be divided among the sepoys of my guard, and the other natives in attendance. They appeared to relish it prodigiously.

I dined with the Governor at a public entertainment given in the banqueting-room. This is a building detached from the Government House. One of the temples at Athens furnished the plan. The edifice is handsome, and the interior constitutes a very fine room; but this heavy inconvenience attends it, that there is no apartment where the guests can wait while the dinner is preparing. The only remedy is to conceal the table by a screen, in front of which the company waits close to the entrance till it is time to sit down. The entertainment on this occasion was splendid.

At ten at night Lady Loudoun had a drawing-room, at which all the ladies and gentlemen were presented according to the formulary of Dublin Castle. This had been previously arranged, to the great satisfaction of all the leading persons, who much applauded our intention of putting the Government of Calcutta on this high footing. The Governor, and all those the most intimate with us, were formally introduced, which made the ceremony appear quite regular to those not capable of appreciating the real utility of its purpose. Such persons might otherwise have thought the form ostentatious.

September 17th.—Saw another company of jugglers, which I mention in order to notice what they told us respecting the posture children attending them, by whom the strangest distortions of frame were exhibited. We were told that they began to subject the children to these dislocations when they are but a few weeks old. One would have supposed that such violence would have been fatal to an infant. The letting down the blade of a sword into, and beyond the stomach (performed before us) is no deception. It is an unpleasant sight, as the performer obviously suffers pain. It is only in the senility of society that these devices are imagined; and this trick has accidentally survived the convulsions occasioned by the irruption of the Tartars; an era decisive against the further progress of that unprofitable ingenuity which lulled the dotage of Hindu civilization.

This morning I saw several officers from neighbouring stations.

At one, I received the visit of the Rajah Vasareddy Vencatadry Naido. Part of his estates are at Masulipatam, and the other part in the Guntoor Circar. As a zemindar, he pays to the Company annually nearly two lacs and a half of pagodas. Having had permission to make a religious pilgrimage to Ramaswaram, he wished to pay his respects to the Governor of Fort St. George in his way back. On his visit, he presented two elephants and four camels. A present to him being requisite in return, by some strange mistake his own elephants and camels were sent to him on

the part of the Company. The poor man was in despair at a procedure which, he said, was to disgrace him for ever in the eyes of his people; to heal this wound I agreed to receive him. I stipulated that his present to me should be very small, as no return could be made for it, and as I should pay him the compliment of accepting it, instead of merely putting my hand on it, and restoring it. He came with a strange motley attendance of armed men, which my Moslem servants censured as an improper assumption of state. In this hottest day of the hottest month at Madras, he was wrapped in a robe of green velvet. The pearls and emeralds which he wore were fine. He presented a white handkerchief, folded and highly perfumed, with two oranges, and three or four dozen of small gold coins on it. I directed the interpreter (having first taken it into my own hand) to transmit it to the Company's secretary; and I made the Rajah sit on the sofa with me. His manner appeared very polished. After thanking me for the favourable reception, he asked my leave to make a pilgrimage to Benares, which I readily granted. He then rose to depart; but I made him stop till I poured some rose-water on his hands, for which he expressed much gratitude. The Moslems told some of my gentlemen that it was too much civility towards a Hindu. I had the satisfaction of thinking that the poor Rajah's respectability was restored in his own contemplation, and that of his followers.

Soon after his departure, I received all the native officers of the several corps in the neighbourhood. This was novel; but it was a step taken after full deliberation between me and Governor Abercromby. The recent conspiracy of some native officers against their white superiors in sepoy regiments suggested the measure. I addressed them through an interpreter; applauded their experienced fidelity; explained that in no course of things could they meet so sure a reward for their services as under the settled dominion of the Company; and assured them of my disposition to uphold the respectability of their present situations, as well as to make their retirement (when age should require it) distinguished and comfortable. They appeared much pleased.

At four o'clock, I had a review of the artillery at St. Thomas's Mount. The weather was intensely hot, yet the corps, both horse and foot, displayed itself most creditably. In the essentials for service, it is not at all inferior to the royal artillery. In the meantime, Lady Loudoun paid a visit to the Begum. The brocade and shawls given on this occasion by the Begum to the children and Lady Loudoun were sent by the latter to the Company's secretary, it being her resolution so to act with regard to any presents she may receive while in this country. On my return from St. Thomas's Mount, I encountered a prodigious dinner, sent by the Begum to Lady Loudoun.

We satisfied the bearers, and gratified the appetites of all the natives around us.

Dinner awaited us at the admiral's. It is rare that a magnificent entertainment is a pleasant one; but Sir Samuel and Lady Hood had the talent to make this so. After the dinner there was a ball, at which we stayed to a very late hour.

September 18th.—Rose, after being in bed an hour and a half, and, despatching what business remained to be arranged at the Ameer Baugh, repaired to the Governor's. There I met the members of Council, and we had a short recapitulation of points that had received previous discussion.

Thence we proceeded, through the fort, between two lines of the troops to the beach, where Lady Loudoun was to meet us. At a tent pitched for the purpose, I met the Nawab and his sons. On Lady Loudoun's arrival, he gallantly handed her into the boat and was particular in taking leave of my son. He begged me to notice that he had stationed his artillery lower down the beach, the jurisdiction of the fort not permitting its near approach, to salute the flag of my boat as soon as it should put off from the shore. Our embraces were renewed. After I got into the boat, he came to the side, and, taking my hands, placed his head between them, saying that I knew what it meant. We pushed through the surf without inconvenience, yet with occasion to observe that there was dexterity in our

boatmen. On reaching the ship, I found a present of one hundred baskets of fruit from the Nawab. The boon was very acceptable, as its extent enabled me to send a portion to every mess of the sailors.

There were some baskets of oranges from Hyderabad, of peculiarly good quality, and of a kind I had never seen before. They are remarkably thin-skinned, and have a little bitter tinge in their flavour, which renders their sweetness less luscious. As the Nawab perceived that there was not a breeze to enable us to put to sea, he exhibited a quantity of rockets for our amusement (from a pleasure-house which he has upon the shore) as soon as it was dark. This shows the sedulity of attention with which the natives court you when they have any point of interest to carry. A fine breeze sprang up about nine o'clock. We weighed anchor, and soon lost sight of the ships in the road, carrying with us a very cordial feeling towards Madras.

September 24th.—Just at sunset we made the land at False Point, but saw no pilot-vessel. Finding the water shoal, stood off till towards morning, firing guns and throwing up rockets occasionally.

September 25th.—About the middle of the day we were in Balasore road; discovering no vessel in that quarter, we stood eastward for the Sand Heads. Late in the afternoon the *Hastings* pilot-vessel came to us.

The pilot would not carry us over the Sands this evening, as it was becoming dark; therefore we came to anchor.

September 26th, Sunday.—Weighed in the morning, and ran across the two Sands. There not being sufficient breeze for us to stem the ebb, we anchored in the Eastern Channel; and I despatched Major Doyle, with Major Macleod, to give Lord Minto information of my approach. They went in a small vessel, capable of going over all the shallows; but they did not make much way from us.

September 27th.—Got under sail with the change of tide,

just before dawn. After a short time, the wind became directly adverse.

We continued to work up till the tide failed, when we anchored within distant view of Saugur Island.

September 28th.—With the tide we made a little progress, and at last anchored in Saugur road, about two miles from the shore, but abreast of the island. The land is so flat, so sandy, and so covered with a very tall silvery grass that it affords no temptation, even were the multitude of tigers by which it is infested out of the question. We got some fresh butter and some fine fish; the former brought down from Kedgerree, the latter caught in the roads.

September 29th.—Quitted the *Stirling Castle*, and embarked in the *Hastings* schooner. The wind was scant and feeble; and the flood tide was so weak, it being now the neap, that we made little way against the heavy body of water coming down the river. We were soon obliged to anchor, without having reached Kedgerree; abreast of which place we did not arrive till the middle of the night, with a new tide.

September 30th.—Excellent bread, eggs, and butter, with a jar of milk, were sent off to us by the post-master. Our progress this day was not more than four miles.

The heat was excessive; and the smallness of the vessel made our position very uncomfortable. The ladies and children, however, bore the inconveniences with the truest good humour.

October 1st.—Early in the morning, Sir W. Keir (King's adjutant-general), with Mr. Elliot and Lieutenant Allen, sent by the Governor-General, came aboard our vessel. They had hastened down the river in another pilot-vessel on hearing of our being in Saugur roads. They brought vegetables and refreshments of various kinds. They communicated the agreeable intelligence that the *Phoenix* yacht could not be far off, as she was to follow them with all expedition. In

fact, we saw her by the middle of the day; and at three o'clock we got aboard her. A remarkably well-dressed dinner was ready for us, with attendants from the Government House. In point of space and coolness, we had changed much for the better; but the myriads of cockroaches with which we were pestered formed no immaterial consideration in the opposite scale.

October 2nd.—With night's tide we had got us as high as Diamond Harbour, where we had anchored among a number of the Company's and other ships. As soon as it was clear day, all the vessels appeared dressed out with as many flags as they could hoist, and saluted with their guns. Commodore Hayes and the Commander of one of the Company's cruisers came aboard, the former proposing to accompany us in his boat, and secure to us any assistance that might tend to accelerate the very slow progress we were making. We weighed anchor as soon as the tide would allow. Flat as are the banks of this river, they present objects very striking to an European eye unaccustomed to similar scenery. The forms of the trees, the appearance of the small, light-coloured cattle, and, above all, the frequent recurrence of the villages, attract one's attention forcibly. The habitations naturally excite an estimate of the people. Long residence in a country corrects a multitude of false notions hastily adopted respecting it; but, on the other hand, the mind becomes so familiarized with the habits of the people as to discard with its errors many remarks and discriminations made on its earlier view which would be better retained. Let me, therefore, define to myself the impression made on me by what I now see divesting myself as far as is practicable of opinions gathered from reading, and figuring this people as contemplated for the first time. The survey is not favourable to the natives. True, the thickness of the population, and the extraordinary closeness with which the habitations are irregularly packed together, may afford unquestionable conclusion of the absence of those virulent passions which in other countries set hamlet against hamlet, and house against house. Vicinity of residence is impracticable where vehemence of temper would find unceasing ground

of irritation and opportunity of jarring in eternal contact. Our towns are no contradiction to this statement; for the regular distribution of the houses along a neutral street, and the seclusion which the form of each dwelling affords to the family occupying it, counteract almost all the objectionable circumstances of proximity. In the Hindoo villages the dwellings are but three or four feet asunder: they are insulated, irregularly grouped as if by accident, and those which lie in the centre are approachable only by tortuous paths, and, as these habitations are simple huts, without exterior precincts, and are in part composed of mats pervious to sight, the possibility of the people's living in that huddled manner implies a destitution of those energies of mind on which moral feeling depends. Pudency cannot exist in such a crowded assemblage, notwithstanding the professed segregation of the women, and that state of society can be maintained only by reciprocal tolerance of all that is offensive and all that is indecent. The Hindoo appears a being nearly limited to mere animal functions, and even in them indifferent. Their proficiency and skill in the several lines of occupation to which they are restricted, are little more than the dexterity which any animal with similar conformation, but with no higher intellect than a dog, an elephant, or a monkey, might be supposed capable of attaining. It is enough to see this in order to have full conviction that such a people can at no period have been more advanced in civil polity. Retrogradation from an improved condition of society never takes this course. According to the circumstances which have dissolved its government the fragments of such a community either preserve the traces of effeminate refinement, or the rough fierceness stamped upon them by the convulsions amid which the centre of the fabric perished. Does not this display the true condition of India, and unveil the circumstances through which we have so unexpectedly and so unintentionally obtained empire here? There surely never has been an active and vigorous Hindoo population; nor are any of the bold, though rude, monuments of antiquity (as I think) ascribable to this race.

A confederacy of interested and forecasting sensualists,

the Brahmins, conspired, when Hindoo society was young, to take care that its growth should be strictly in such a fashion as would ensure to them the continuance of those selfish advantages which their impositions on the multitude had obtained. Hence flowed all those inculcations which were to keep the frames and minds of the people in a state of feebleness adapted to the submission sought for them. They were taught to regard bathing in the Ganges as a religious duty, that by fixing themselves on its banks they might not escape the superintendence or the convenience of their spiritual guides, or be led to contemplate the examples of sturdier communities. They were instructed to marry in absolute infancy, that the energies of love might never rouse them to a consciousness of innate rights : and possibly the notion that debility of race would be entailed by this premature wedlock was no immaterial motive for its having been enjoined. They were bewildered in a variety of beliefs and infinity of observances (not maintained by their teachers themselves), that the listlessness of life might be filled by the multiplicity of factitious obligations, and that their intellects might never disentangle the intricacies of the creed imposed on them. They were interdicted from admitting proselytes, that no discussion of matters of faith might give their reason a clue towards emancipation. Everything in their system bears the stamp of successful conspiracy against human genius. That this portrait would not suit many of the tribes higher up the country I well know; but those tribes would not come within my notion of Hindoos, although they bear the name and have the appearance, and profess the religious tenets, of the Hindoos. One may confidently assume that India has in very remote periods, far anterior to the invasions recorded in annals or traditions, been the prey of robust and hardy nations on its borders. A band of these conquerors, unlettered and devoid of hereditary pious practices, would care little what instruction was given to the children born to them by the Hindoo women whom they would collect in forming settlements within the regions they had subdued. The progeny thence assumed the name and the manners and the creed of the Hindoos; but with an elasticity of spirit drawn from the paternal stock. In those

districts, therefore, the inhabitants, though assimilated in general semblance, and in the course of generations become enfeebled by the adopted habits, would not stand within the description of those communities which have remained fixed to the banks of the Ganges. It is of the latter I speak when I say I should think them, from the present frame of their polity, incapable of ever having effected or even undertaken anything on an extensive scale. The remnants of aught that was laborious in achievement or magnificent in plan may be satisfactorily assigned to the intruders who at several periods have held transitory dominion in different parts of India. These states have successively been subverted by new migratory hordes, the original Hindoos remaining indifferent to these revolutions. Hence there never has been a really national feeling among the people of this country. The great mass of the natives have no consideration of pride or other sentiment as to who governs them, provided their superstitions and nearly vegetative comforts be not outraged. The smaller and more active communities have no bond of union; Islamism itself having been prevented from becoming a cement by the animosities and incessant hostilities which have raged between the Moslem powers. An army, therefore collected out of those broken sovereignties, if it be in number and discipline superior to what a confederacy of those intrusive chiefs can bring into the field, must rule India. Amount and regularity of pay binds securely to our service the individual who has no other mode of subsistence but military engagement: and so recognised by that class of men are the advantages of being enrolled under the British standard, that there are few corps belonging to any of the native princes which would not come over to us on invitation, were our funds ample enough to answer for their maintenance. This security is to be understood as existing so long as we abstain from revolting the prejudices of the native troops. Men in all times have attached to trifling particularities an importance paramount to the most solid interests; and the disposition is perhaps more jealous on that head in this country than in any other. Under the name of intrusive chiefs I decidedly include the Mahrattas; a power comparatively novel, and

formed originally by the aggregation of fugitives from the oppressions which have depopulated immense tracts that were subject to Mahomedan sway.

October 3rd.—We had brought-up in the night nearly off Myapore. The state boats had joined us at Diamond Harbour, but it was more convenient to remain on board the yacht than to get into them. We made, however, so little way in the course of this day, that in the evening we transferred ourselves to the *Sonamuckhee*, a beautiful pleasure vessel, in order to be tracked up by men collected for the purpose. In this manner we were towed along Garden Reach by moonlight. The elegance of the villas by that chastened light was very striking. We anchored off Mr. Kyd's dock-yard, about a mile short of Fort William.

October 4th.—We weighed anchor before dawn, as I had given notice that I would land at six, in order that the troops drawn out to receive me might get back to their barracks before the sun was high. It was now the warmest and worst part of the year; and this year the weather had been more than ordinarily oppressive. The heat had been intense during our whole passage up the river. The fort saluted as we passed. We brought-to off Chandpaul Ghaut, our destined landing-place, before six. As soon as the clock struck that hour, we got into the *Feel-cherry*, a highly ornamented barge and proceeded to shore. Lady Loudoun and the children were put into a carriage and despatched to the private door of the Government House, whence she was conducted at once to her apartments. I walked with the general officers and staff, who met me at the ghaut, through the lane made by the 24th regiment and the sepoy battalions to the front of the Government House. Lord Minto, with all the gentlemen of the presidency, was waiting for me at the top of the magnificent staircase which leads to the entrance on that side. The appearance was very grand. After salutations, the gentlemen were confusedly presented to me in the outer hall. We then adjourned into the great hall, where breakfast was prepared. As soon as it was over, I was led

to the council chamber, where my commission was read; and I then took the oaths and was invested with the charge of the Government. The completion of this ceremony was announced by the firing of the guns of Fort William. The crowd gradually dispersed. Lord Minto retired to a house which he had prepared in Chouringhee, a beautiful suburb of Calcutta. I was left to advert to domestic arrangements.

1814.

FEBRUARY 1st.—The excessive pressure of business immediately after my arrival, and the sacrifice of time unavoidable in giving audiences to individuals, prevented my continuation of the Journal. I am led to resume it now from frequent regret at not having minuted many transactions on the day of their occurrence, though even at present I feel all the difficulty of being able to adhere to the plan. The situation of a Governor-General, if he really fulfil his duties, is one of the most laborious that can be conceived. The short periods for the exercise indispensable to health, and for meals, can barely be afforded. There is, however, such peculiar advantage in recording one's opinions while they are fresh, with a view to one's future consideration or reference, that it must be attempted. In resuming the task, I must advert briefly to what has occurred as most particular in the interval.

I have found the Government in a state of great pecuniary embarrassment. The Directors were so urgent with me to send home treasure that I overcame the reluctance of my colleagues, and we remitted gold pagodas* to the amount estimated by ordinary exchange of 300,000*l*. Should the price of gold in England be still what it was when I left Europe, this bullion will be sold by the Directors for not less than 450,000*l*. We have, however, in consequence been on the brink of great distress.

The embassy in Persia, though wholly appointed by the Crown, is entirely supported by the Government of Bengal; such being the arrangement made by ministers with the Directors, or rather imposed on the latter. Without any means of curbing the prodigality of the ambassador, or of determining the propriety of expenditures quite unconnected with the interests of India, we are bound to answer the bills drawn upon us by Sir Gore Ouseley. Of course, they came

both heavily and unexpectedly. The Governor of the Isle of France and the Governor of Ceylon have both had the privilege granted to them of drawing upon us, furnishing us in return with bills on the English Treasury, which we often cannot negotiate. Java is a still worse drain than the others. Instead of the surplus revenue which, for the purpose of giving importance to the conquest, was asserted to be forthcoming from that possession, it could not be maintained without the treasury as well as the troops of Bengal. Just now, in the height of our exigencies, we receive an intimation from the Lieut.-Governor that he cannot pay his provincial corps unless we allow him 50,000 Spanish dollars monthly in addition to the prodigious sums which we already contribute to his establishment.

Such is the condition in which I have found finances. The army, well disciplined, is insufficient in numbers for the ordinary defence of the frontiers and for internal duties. The escort of treasure (produce of the land revenue) from the several districts to Calcutta, requires incessant detachments, and fairly wears out the troops. This service cannot be alleviated by the substitution of the Burkendauzes, or armed police. A trial of this was made not a month ago. The party was surprised at night by a body of dakoyts, or gang-robbers. Two of the guards were killed, fifteen wounded, and the treasure was carried off by the banditti. At Calcutta there is no cavalry (so necessary for checking tumult in a populous city) but the Governor-General's bodyguard of one hundred and twenty-five men. Another troop does not exist between Calcutta and Sultanpore, a distance of about 600 miles. The whole of the district between Hooghly and Ragojee Bhoosla's territories is totally devoid of troops and unprotected. None can be spared to it from the pressing demand of other quarters. Yet it is from that frontier of the Rajah of Berar that an incursion of Pindarries, who would find no opposition in traversing part of his dominions, is most likely to be made into our richest provinces. The aggregate of the force which could be produced by the several Pindarry leaders is estimated at 30,000, principally cavalry. These are professedly freebooters. Their occasional plunder

of districts belonging to the Rajah of Berar, the Nizam, and Dowlut Rao Scindiah, which always takes place when their exactions from the petty independent states do not answer their wants, are winked at. Those sovereigns have no sensibility for the sufferings of their subjects. They only calculate the diminution which their revenue may undergo, setting against that loss the convenience of being able on the sudden to take into their pay such a swarm of light troops in case of any breach with this Government. To us the Pindarries are no eventual resource; for a stipulation in their engagement is invariably an unlimited right of plunder; an atrocity to which no extremity could make us give countenance. Our deficiency in point of numbers might be balanced by the goodwill acquired from neighbouring powers through our justice and moderation, whence we might look to security against attack. I find nothing of the sort. We are engaged in captious bickerings with all around us. On my taking the reins of Government into my hand seven different quarrels likely to demand the decision of arms were transferred to me. Of these Macherry, Rewah, Sawunt-Warree, and Kurnool have required military operations. The results have been favourable: but, except in the case of Rewah, where it was necessary to punish the Sainghur chiefs, who had waylaid and massacred a party of our sepoys, not one of these enterprises presents an object which (putting the justice out of the question) was worth the effort. The differences with the Scindian ameurs relative to Cutch, with the Nepaulese Government, and with the King of Ava, have been amicably settled, in consequence of my having had time to apply remedies to the misunderstanding. From the force of any of those powers no serious long opposition was to be apprehended. The expense of preparation is a strong objection to these squabbles. A much more important consideration is that these paltry triumphs leave an inveterate spirit of animosity towards us in the breast of those whom we have overborne.

A rational jealousy of our power is not likely to excite half the intrigues against us which must naturally be produced by the wanton provocations which we have been giving on

trivial subjects to all the States around us. With a degree of concert thus indistinctly fashioned, those States must be ready to start up into combination whenever they may see us occupied with an enemy capable of employing our forces for any time. It may not be long before such an enemy may exhibit himself. The terms of amity on which we at present stand with Runjeet Sing are no guarantee against those projects which his known dislike of us, and his confidence in his own strength, have probably made him revolve in secret. Having reduced all the other communities of the Sikhs beneath his sway, and having subjected all the other territories in his vicinity, he possesses a force which the turbulence of his disposition will impel him to use; and there is no field for its exertion but the part of the British dominions bordering on the Sutlej. Should the King of Ava, who conceives his armies to be irresistible, at the same moment invade Chittagong, the opposing those attacks at the two extremities of our empire must ungarnish our prodigiously-extended flanks. Then, there would be an opening for all the vengeance of the petty States to which I have alluded, as well as for the rapacity of the Pindarries. Such a juncture might be the signal of general effort against us without any apparently adequate cause of war. We have not simply to look to the irritation of those whom we have actually scourged with nettles. Each sovereign must have brought the case home to himself, and must have secretly sympathized with the durbars which he saw insulted and humiliated. The Nawab Vizeer imagined himself to have purchased exemption from these petty but galling vexations by the cession of a large part of his dominions—a cession made under the assurance of his being perfectly independent in what remained. We have been authoritatively interfering with all the minor concerns of his domestic rule, till we have driven him to a desperation which he proclaimed in open durbar. The Rajah of Berar, nominally our friend, has evinced repeatedly his hostile suspicion of us. The Nizam does not disguise his absolute hatred of us, though he is in shackles whence he cannot extricate himself. The Rajah of Mysore and the British Resident are engaged in a contest of mutual crimina-

tion. Scindiah is in the utmost difficulty to find means for keeping his army together, and nothing could be to him a temptation equal to the occasion of plundering our opulent provinces.

Ameer Khan, who wields Holkar's forces, is professedly inimical to us.

Holkar's dominions being exhausted, his army must ravage some other country, otherwise it will dissolve; and he is now negotiating with the Pindarries for a joint attack on Nagpore. This object, on a former occasion, was held so eventually injurious to us that Lord Minto raised an army to march (though under no obligation of a treaty) to protect the Rajah, and baffled the undertaking. I have not money (the Company having no credit in Calcutta) to equip an army even if I saw the policy, as Lord Minto did, of defending Nagpore. Yet I am aware of the possibility that apprehension might make the Rajah suggest to those who are threatening him, a more attractive object for their views by offering to join in an extensive combination for the invasion of our possessions.

In short, I see around me the elements of a war more general than any which we have hitherto encountered in India.

This formidable mischief has arisen from our not having defined to ourselves or made intelligible to the native princes, the quality of the relations which we have established with them.

In our treaties with them we recognise them as independent sovereigns. Then we send a resident to their courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he assumes the functions of a dictator; interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest which, under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council; and the Government identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we

violate the feelings of the native princes so much as in the decisions which we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to the succession to the musnud. We constantly oppose our construction of Mahomedan law to the right which the Moslem princes claim from usage to choose among their sons the individual to be declared the heir-apparent. It is supposed that by upholding the right of primogeniture we establish an interest with the eldest son which will be beneficial to us when he comes to the throne. I believe nothing can be more delusive. He will profess infinite gratitude as long as our support is useful to him; but, once seated, his subsequent attachment will always be regulated by the convenience of the day. He, too, will in his turn have to feel our interference in the succession as well as in minor instances. With regard to the latter it might be argued that some interest of the Company is always really involved. The simple existence of such an interest is not the true question. What should be considered, is, whether the matter be of a proximity or magnitude to make the prosecution of it desirable at the expense of the disgust and estrangement which you sow by the procedure.

If a willing obedience to the influence of our Government be deemed an essential point, all subordinate concerns ought to be indifferent.

February 2nd.—At Barrackpore, preparing for a short excursion above Kishnagur. Our elephants and horses were yesterday despatched to be in readiness on our arrival.

As the day furnishes nothing particular, I revert to circumstances of which I had omitted to make insertion at the time of their occurrence. Mr. Thomson, the private secretary, was one afternoon to come hither from Calcutta. His way lay through one of the narrow, crowded bazars of the city. It happened to be one of the great Hindu festivals. He met in the bazar a prodigious concourse of people, before whom was borne on a sort of platform carried by men, a large image of one of the Hindu deities splendidly gilt.

The persons around it were chanting hymns to it. The postilion, with the insolence which the natives invariably

show when they are in the service of any European of high station, made no attempt to leave a passage for his countrymen, but whipped his horses and drove into the middle of the procession.

The men who carried the platform, in endeavouring to get out of the way of the carriage, were thrown into a deep gutter, and the gaudy image was broken into pieces. Mr. Thomson expected all the religious indignation of the crowd to burst upon him; but to his great astonishment, instead of venting abuse upon him or even on the position, the people only laughed heartily, and picked up the shattered fragments with apparent good-humour. The circumstance appears trifling, but it is strongly characteristic of the temper of the Hindoos, who could thus at once pardon the outrage from a conviction that an insult to them had not been intended.

We had a puppet-show for the amusement of the children. The figures are moved with much dexterity; yet here the extent of Hindoo genius is particularly marked. All the figures are disproportioned, having heads ten times too large for their bodies. I am assured that it is just the same in every one of the multitude of puppet-shows going about, and that there is not the slightest variation in the scenes exhibited. It seems as if the people were incapable of imagining anything new even in a matter of amusement.

February 3rd.—Went to Calcutta to close any business (independent of the council) which might be pending, before I should go to Kishnagur. Nothing material occurring I shall record a very curious exhibition which I saw some time ago at Barrackpore. A man (naked except the cloth round his waist) stood upon a spring-board, holding, with his arms extend, in each hand a hoop no larger than that his head could just go through it. He first showed us what it was he meant to do, and the apparent impossibility of his succeeding in the attempt made me particularly watchful to detect any artifice by which he might seem to have performed the feat without having really achieved it. Making the board vibrate, he threw himself up backwards,

and came down on his knees; his left arm was passed behind his head; the hoop held in the right hand had been forced through the left hand hoop, so that the latter slid up the right arm, which appeared shackled by it, and the head was through the hoop held in the right hand. The complicated movements required to produce this position were done so rapidly that there was no following them with the eye in the short space of the man's turning in the air; but I am positive there was no deception in the exhibition. It was displayed in broad daylight in the open air.

Some visitors arriving, I requested the man to repeat it, with which he complied. This man rates himself very high, and will only perform before persons of considerable rank. He displayed some other feats of agility, such as leaping through a noose little more than capable of slipping over his body; and fixing his head, arms, and legs through five holes, in a kind of net, suspended so high as that it required an active spring to reach it. These, though really curious, did not appear to me so dexterous as the first.

February 4th.—Council. I lodged the formal notification of its being my intention not to be present at the four councils next ensuing after this week. In my absence, the senior member takes the chair; but the proceedings of the council must be sent to me, and no article registered in them is valid till it is confirmed by my signature. A curious petition was delivered to me; the petitioner, a native, complained that the officiating Brahmins, at a temple of Kali, near Moorshadabad, refused to sacrifice him, wherefore, as it was unlawful for him to put himself to death, he solicited that I would order the Brahmins to immolate him. A short time ago I had another petition from a man, who implored that I would order his head to be cut off, as he was in a state of hopeless penury.

February 5th.—Council. Heavy rain fell, without any storm or wind, which is very rare at this season. It is likely to be beneficial to our party, for the weather had become very warm, and it is supposed this downfall will

produce cool air for some time. Received some baskets of apples from the Nawab Vizeer. They are brought from Persia, and it is surprising how fresh they came after that immense length of journey. They are sweet but insipid; their look, however, is good, and they are prized as a rarity.

February 6th.—Went to church, and immediately after the service returned to Barrackpore. Reviewing what I have written respecting the political state of this country, I think it well to sketch what appears to me the corrective for many existing embarrassments.

Our object ought to be, to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so. We should hold the other States as vassals, in substance though not in name; not precisely as they stood in the Mogul Government, but possessed of perfect internal sovereignty, and only bound to repay the guarantee and protection of their possessions by the British Government with the pledge of the two great feudal duties.

First, they should support it with all their forces on any call. Second, they should submit their mutual differences to the head of the confederacy (our Government), without attacking each other's territories, a few subordinate stipulations on our part, with immunities secured in return to the other side (especially with regard to succession), would render the arrangement ample without complication or undue latitude. Were this made palatable to a few States, as perhaps it easily might, the abrogation of treaties with the Powers who refuse to submit to the arrangement would soon work upon their apprehensions in a way that would bring them at last within the pale of the compact. The completion of such a system, which must include the extinction of any pretension to pre-eminence in the court of Delhi, demands time and favourable coincidences. While, on the other hand, the difficulties bequeathed to me are imminent, and might break upon me at any instant. A new Government always produces some suspension in animosities. I have endeavoured to improve the juncture by courteous and conciliatory language to the native Powers; and I do

hope I may remove considerable soreness. As for the rest, fortune and opportunities must determine; but it is always well to ascertain to oneself what one would precisely desire had one the means of commanding the issue.

February 7th.—Embarked at four in the morning at Pulta Gaut, in the *Feel-cherry*; attended by five other boats. Passed Chinsura about sunrise, and afterwards Hooghly. There are handsome houses in each, which look upon the river and are pleasing objects from it. Parts of the banks were somewhat elevated. On these the villages were picturesque; but generally the sides of the river are flat and destitute of feature of cheerfulness, and even of appearance of fertility. There is, however, no real want of tillage; for beyond the margin over which the eye out of a low boat cannot peer, the ground is said to be assiduously cultivated. Crowds of people assembled in front of the villages to look at us; and the women saluted us with a sort of tremulous hooting which I might have thought expressive of distaste had I not been forewarned that such was their complimentary expression of welcome. This is the sound which Dr. Buchanan, by the aid of a lively fancy, describes as indicative of a lascivious feeling, on the occasion of his hearing it uttered when the idol was drawn forth from the temple of Jugganauth; so readily do our prejudices impose on our perception. Assuredly, this singular noise does not imply anything like the intoxication of spirit which might be inferred from our hurra. At three o'clock we turned out of the main river into the Hurdum Nullah. At five we reached the Ruttna Gaut, where we were met by Mr. Paton, judge of the district, and Mr. Armstrong the collector. Our tents, dispatched in advance, were ready pitched here, about three hundred yards from the landing-place. The natives who had assembled in great numbers, had made a little avenue to the tents by fixing plantain trees in the ground on each side of the road. After a comfortable dinner which had been awaiting us, I went out to receive the zemindars who were desirous of presenting their nuzzurs. These consisted of money, live partridges, deer, hares, and

a porcupine, or of fruit and vegetables. I touched the mohurs and rupees with my hand, which is declining them while you acknowledge the compliment; I accepted the birds and beasts for Barrackpore; and the fruits after I had waved my hand over them, become, according to established custom, a scramble for the multitude. No native, consistently with their principles, can retain for his own use that which he has tendered as a nuzzur, although it has been declined by the person to whom it was offered. The crowd, therefore, get the vegetables, and the money is divided among Brahmins. The porcupine, alarmed by the bustle, or deserted by the person who had hold of him, got away among the tents. He was easily surrounded, but not readily taken; for although the people had cloths to throw over him, I observed they were very cautious about touching the animal. There was reason for this, since the man who at length caught him exhibited two quills sticking in his arm. The quills have small barbs upon them, which make them more easily drawn from their socket in the skin of the porcupine than from the flesh into which they have been forced. Lieutenant Caldwell, who commanded the company of Sepoy Grenadiers attached as a guard to our tents and baggage, shot two alligators in his way from Barrackpore. Wishing to stuff the largest, ten feet long, he had it opened. In the stomach were found the bangles of a little girl whom the animal had of course devoured. Such accidents occur frequently, and are little attended to by parents as far as relates to future precaution; though I am told they appear to feel acutely the loss of a child.

February 8th.—Marched from our encampment about five o'clock and reached Kishnagur before nine. Our route had been over a well-cultivated country, much resembling the flat extended plains of the northern part of Norfolk (only not stony), with an horizon of plantations and minor masses of wood round the villages. The poor villagers met us at each hamlet with presents of kids, poultry, eggs, cakes, and vegetables. In declining the offering, I not only was particular in causing thanks to be returned for the attention,

but in preventing our native followers from converting the articles to their own use, which, without much vigilance, they would have done. These people have no mercy for each other. We took up our lodging at Mr. Paton's, a very neat bungalow, or rather house of a single floor, on a handsome lawn dotted with trees. Among other articles at a good breakfast, there were some fresh-water whittings from the Jellinghy. They much resembled the sea whiting, but appeared to me decidedly better. Mr. Paton mentioned to me a circumstance respecting the release of a prisoner which had given him much gratification. At Christmas, I had sent a power to the judge of every zillah to pardon and set free five of the convicts condemned to public labour in chains, who might appear most deserving of liberation. Mr. Paton discharged, among others, a man who had been made over to us on our first receiving the district from the native sovereign as guilty of harbouring dakoyts, and thence sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The hasty acceptance of such accusation under the Mahomedan Government made this man's criminality very doubtful; yet he had been working in irons ever since. His joy at being released was excessive, which he explained to Mr. Paton by saying that now his family would be able to show him funeral observances at his death. It is very strange that these acts of clemency, or any inquiry into the conduct of the prisoners with a view to relaxation in the case of those who appeared corrected, are quite unprecedented. In the case of dakoyts (gang-robbers by profession) lenity is of difficult exercise; because multitudes of the criminals have urged that their fathers and grandfathers were dakoyts—that they themselves were bred up to the practice, and that they had no other means of supporting themselves but returning to it should they be liberated. Add to this, they are well fed and gently treated in their bondage. Still there must occur many cases where the merciful interposition of Government could not but be well applied. We dined at the collector's (Mr. Armstrong), on the bank of the Jellinghy. It was the first stream of clear water I had seen since my arrival in India. Hence it was a refreshing sight. We slept at Mr. Paton's.

February 9th.—Went before breakfast to see the Company's plantation of timber-trees. It is a spot of ground of nearly four hundred acres, very parkish in appearance, there being some little wave of ground, with handsome trees irregularly scattered, and here and there a thick thorny brake. Spots of the best soil are broken up for the young trees, which seem to thrive well. The teak always has a look of being blighted, from the peculiar quality of its leaves and flowers, but it seems to grow rapidly here. At Barrackpore it is slow in its progress.

February 20th.—We rode to Kishnagur. The sun was uncommonly powerful from the moment of its first rising, and our ride was excessively hot. The inhabitants of the several villages which we passed had all collected to see us. I observed that their air was not merely respectful, but that there was a kindness in it which could only be referred to their satisfaction with the Government under which they lived. In truth, the people who visit Calcutta from the dominions of any of the native princes are astonishingly struck with the security against oppression and the impartial distribution of justice enjoyed by our subjects: and the latter, from comparing notes with the strangers, are highly sensible of their own advantages. We took up our quarters at the magistrate's as before. We could nowhere have met more frank, polite, and unaffected hospitality. Our party was here to break up. It had consisted of Major Stanhope, Mr. Ricketts, Major Macleod, Major Forssteen, Hon. W. Moore, Capt. Stanhope, Capt. Matthews, Major Gordon, Deputy-Adjutant-General, Lieutenant Caldwell, commanding the sepoy escort, and Mr. Gordon, surgeon of the bodyguard, who all accompanied me from Calcutta; and of Mr. Paton, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Burney, and Mr. Shum, functionaries of this district who attended to render any assistance that might be required. Though we had not found game in anything like the quantity I expected, the party had been cheerful, and from the novelty of the scenes interesting. Its material advantage was, its giving me a view of a part of the country lying out of the course of

ordinary expeditions up the river; a sort of sample by which one's notions of other tracts might be usefully regulated. In a military aspect, the whole which I have seen is a country for cavalry. Yet it is totally devoid of that arm. Indeed the paucity of provision in the hither provinces, an extent of territory which may be measured by four degrees of latitude and ten degrees of longitude, is altogether beyond belief. The incessant activity and the recognised equity of the Government can alone solve the problem how the enormous population of these districts is kept in tranquil obedience without any show of efficient strength.

February 21st.—Our boats had been ordered to meet us at Santipore, on the Hooghly, that we might have the advantage of a stronger current than we should have found in the Hurdum Nullah. Starting before daylight we rode half of the way, and then got into carriages which had been stationed to carry us the remaining eight miles. The villagers everywhere were ready with their little offerings. When within two miles of Santipore, I saw with anguish the sides of the road, which is a causeway devoid of trees, decorated with banana plants to make it look like an avenue. As each banana tree that is so cut is the loss of so much produce for the year, this sacrifice made by the poor people went to my heart. I had been acutely solicitous to prevent my excursions entailing inconvenience on any one. Where we encamped, every possible precaution was taken to hinder damages to any neighbouring field and where injury could not be avoided, I made the collector assess the harm, and render compensation to the full satisfaction of the sufferer. The magistrate had been strictly enjoined by me to punish instantly and rigorously any person of the camp found guilty of petty oppressions on the inhabitants. Three of my own suite having at an early period been seized and flogged for attempting little exactions, our police was most effectual, and here I saw the crop of hundreds of trees massacred without the possibility of my making good the loss. The crowds of people that surrounded us were prodigious. At length we reached the river. Before I got

into my boat, I was forced to have a kind of levee on the bank, that I might touch the nuzzurs of the principal natives. There was much air of opulence and comfort among them. Causing my thanks to be expressed to them for their attentions, I at last got into the boat. The tide had just turned in our favour, and we went rapidly down the river. The distance, however, was too great to be achieved in one tide; and the flood having come against us, we were obliged to have the boats tracked down. It is surprising with what alacrity and cheerfulness the boatmen go through this heavy labour. At five in the afternoon we reached Barrackpore; the poor fellows hailing it, as they approached, with a song.

June 23rd.—Notwithstanding the resolution I had made of keeping my journal regularly, I have not been able to fulfil my intention. In truth, at Calcutta or Barrackpore, one's whole time is so invariably taken up with business that one is little in the way of observing chance occurrences. Then, all the particular features of public affairs are contained in the minutes I take, and cause to be copied into another book, of all that passes in Council worthy of notice; so that the entering them in this journal would be to make a duplicate record. Now that I am preparing to depart for the Upper Provinces it will be well to open the journal anew. By way of connexion, I have only to look back to the opinion with which I started respecting the natives. Every day more and more satisfies me that I formed a just estimate of those who inhabit Bengal at least. They are infantine in everything. Neat and dexterous in making any toy or ornament for which they have a pattern, they do not show a particle of invention; and their work unless they follow some European model, is flimsy and inadequate. Their religious processions constantly remind me of the imitation of some public ceremony which English children would make. One sees seven or eight persons gravely following a fellow who is tapping on a kind of drum that sounds like a cracked tin kettle, and though nobody looks at them they have the air of being persuaded that they are doing something wonderfully interesting. The temples they

build are just such as would be constructed by schoolboys in Europe, had they the habit of dealing in brick and mortar. The edifices are rarely above four feet high, exclusive of two or three steps on which they are raised and contain some rude and shabby carving or delineation of one or other of their gods. If this be the rate of the men, one may easily conceive what that of the women must be. Never enjoying even female society, their lives are passed in the extreme of listlessness. It is this which produces so many instances of women burning themselves. The husband's death is a revolution in their existence, which gives an opening for the mind's bursting out of the ordinary track of depression. They have a confused notion that the hour is the only one which can occur to them for distinction. As is the case with all spirits that have been long held in restraint, the momentary emancipation is carried to extravagance. Working themselves up to frenzy they pledge themselves to they know not what. Once they declare their intention to burn themselves, which is done in the first instant of bewilderment produced by the husband's death, no retreat is allowed. The forecasting policy of the Brahmins has made the disgrace of the women's faltering fall, not on the individual alone, but on all her relations, so that the whole of her family will force her to perseverance. Then the Brahmins intoxicate her with representations as well as with drugs. In this hot climate the funeral of the defunct must so soon take place that there is no time for reflection. The interest of the Brahmins in this is that it is a triumph over reason. The scene is an additional perplexity to that common sense, the growth of which they sedulously watch and endeavour to stunt in the lower classes. Subjugation of the intellect, that they may reign over the bodies of the multitude, is the unremitting object of that worthless and successful caste. One would imagine that the habitual veneration which a Brahmin receives from his earliest years was calculated to elevate his mind and make him strive to appear worthy of his high distinction by the dignified purity of his conduct. But this is so far from being the case, that in no class does one meet more frequent instances of vile and grovelling

turpitude, as well as of deep atrocity. An example of the latter quality, recently reported by the judge of Benares, deserves insertion. A Brahmin had mortgaged a particular spot of land on terms which, according to the established law of the country, gave to the mortgagee the temporary cropping of the land. Having got the money, he would not surrender the land to the mortgagee, who sued him in Court and obtained an order to be put in possession. When the officer of the Court arrived at the field he found the Brahmin ploughing it, and required him to give it up. The Brahmin refused and assaulted the officer. In the scuffle, he got a slap in the face. There was no tolerating such an indignity, therefore the Brahmin went home and cut the throat of his eldest daughter that her blood might be on the head of the person who had insulted him. The magistrate hearing of this act, sent to summon the Brahmin. This was a new affront; and by way of avenging it he killed his wife and his youngest daughter, persuading his brother to murder his daughter also for the honour of the family. The wretch, on being interrogated, avowed the murders without testifying the least degree of compunction.

June 24th.—This day I quitted Calcutta in form, having installed Sir G. Nugent as Vice-President. In strictness I cannot legally give him that title; but I wished to do it out of compliment, and it is only requisite that all acts of Council be confirmed by me.

We proceeded to Barrackpore, where the boats are to collect. It will take three days to assemble them.

June 26th.—The hopes which I had expressed of having terminated matters amicably with the Nepaulese, have unhappily proved delusive. Though nothing could be more clear than that they had trespassed beyond their known and established boundary, and had made most impudent encroachments upon our territory, they wish to settle matters without hostility, made us offer to submit the titles on both sides to commissioners. This was agreed to by the Rajah of Nepaul. The commissioners met. Those from Nepaul

having not a shadow of pretension to substantiate against our irrefragable proofs of right, went off suddenly. Our police and revenue officers were ordered to take possession of the disputed tract. They did so without opposition, and with the apparent acquiescence of the latter. The Nepaulese troops, however, came down by night and surprised two of the thannahs, murdering the police and revenue officers with circumstances of extreme barbarity. Since that, they have attempted to poison the wells of the villages on our frontier; not that we had any troops there, but merely to destroy the innocent ryots. Great quantities of poison have been sent from the interior of the country for that execrable purpose, and a large body of archers with poisoned arrows have reinforced the Nepaulese posts. Having a prodigious opinion of themselves from the conquests they have achieved, and knowing little of our resources, they are now making a gallant parade in our front. They will pay for it by the jungle fever which rages dreadfully in that district during the rainy season. The mortality heretofore experienced by our sepoys from that cause will prevent my exposing any of our troops to the pestilence at present. When the cold season arrives, the Nepaulese will be brought to account for this short triumph. In the meantime the Bettiah Provincial Battalion, accustomed to the climate, will sufficiently defend our frontier from incursions.

June 28th.—Embarked early in the morning; and our flotilla of something more than two hundred and twenty boats, weighed anchor instantly. We brought up in the afternoon off Hooghly. Mr. Brodie, judge of Hooghly, and Mr. Paton, judge of Kishnagur (whose district we enter to-morrow), came on board and dined with us. They brought their reports of the state of their districts. Our pinnace, the *Sonamuckhee*, is remarkably convenient, and sails very well. The children have another vessel equally good. The heat of the weather is excessive. It exceeded one hundred degrees of Fahrenheit in the cabins of the boats, in spite of all the mitigating precautions which luxury and experience have provided.

June 29th.—Got under weigh before sunrise. Our progress was not rapid, as we had very little breeze. Late in the afternoon we anchored about three miles short of the Santipore landing-place. The day was violently hot, but at night the air was somewhat cooled by a heavy fall of rain. The temperature, however, was not lowered as much as one should have expected.

June 30th.—The little breath of air that existed being contrary, we made but slow progress in tacking up. The heat was intense. All the natives declare that they never had such hot weather before, and letters from Calcutta state that the heat is beyond what has been experienced there in any former year. Mr. Halhed, the assistant-judge of Burdwan, joined us to present his report of the state of his district, the judge (Mr. Bayley), being absent. The Rajah of Burdwan had prepared a curious salute for us on a sandy beach—a number of small mines which were exploded consecutively with plenty of noise. We anchored about half way between Santipore and Nuddeah.

July 1st.—Our progress was very slow. There was not a breath of air. The heat is greater than any man recollects it; therefore, the tracking of the boats against the stream was dreadfully fatiguing for the poor fellows. We anchored off Belpokareea, about three miles above Nuddeah. We had stopped so early that I landed my horses and got a ride. At a village some distance from the river, I saw several very large monkeys in a pekul tree. They paid no attention to the natives, but seemed agitated at finding themselves examined by the Europeans. Three of them were females carrying young in their arms; and the dexterity with which they managed their burthen while they were retreating to trees further from the road, was very interesting.

July 2nd.—Our progress was slow and uninteresting. We anchored about two miles short of Puttolee. After my horse was prepared, the appearance of a violent storm

approaching, made me order it back again to its boat. The gust, however, when it arrived, proved to be without rain, though it brought clouds of dust with it. A short walk after the wind had subsided, was all the exercise manageable.

July 3rd.—Miserably slow progress. The stream was strong and not a breadth of air. The heat violent. Just as we anchored, heavy rain came on and refreshed us much. There has been great sickness in the fleet, from the uncommon warmth of the weather.

July 4th.—The advance was little better than yesterday's, though we had two or three hours of stiff breeze. The excessive tortuousness of the channels did not allow us to make much use of the wind as we had hoped. Fine showers came on in the afternoon; but there was a favourable pause, of which we profited, to get a ride after we had anchored. The eldest son of the Nawab, Dilwar Jung (of Calcutta), having come down from Moorshadabad to pay his attentions, I received his visit.

July 5th.—Heavy rain in the morning. Great heat afterwards. The stream was strong, and wind unfavourable, so that we with difficulty got forward as far as Manickdee, where we anchored.

July 6th.—I got my horse very early, and rode to the field of Plassey; distant about four miles. One tree alone remains to mark where the tope stood; and, between the change which has taken place in the course of the river, and the obliteration of the entrenchments by the plough, no traces exist whence one can form a notion of the action. Anchored in the evening a little above Dondpoor. Mr. Leycester and Mr. Travers (collector), came down from Moorshadabad.

July 7th.—Rode along the banks of the river and had the opportunity of observing how extraordinarily its course

varies in the term of a few years. Anchored this evening a little above Jelalpoor.

July 8th.—Arrived off Berhampore about five o'clock, and were saluted by the field-pieces drawn up on the high bank, which prevents the river from overflowing the cantonment. Having received intimation that the garrison was under arms to receive me, I went ashore immediately; and having dismissed the troops to their barracks, had the officers presented to me. Mr. Brooke, agent of the Governor-General for the Nizamut, was waiting there to make arrangements with us. I fixed to dine and sleep at his house next day. Lady Loudoun came ashore, and we had a grand dinner at Major-General Morris's. He commands the station. He had prepared rooms for use; but we thought it more convenient to sleep aboard.

July 9th.—I reviewed in the morning the troops stationed at Berhampore, *viz.*, His Majesty's 14th Foot, the Company's European Regiment and a battalion of the 25th Native Infantry. They were in high order, and did their business perfectly well. We breakfasted with the officers of the 14th. Afterwards I had a levee, and gave audiences at Major-General Morris's. In the evening, we drove to Mr. Brooke's, where we found much company assembled to meet us, and had an excellent dinner.

July 10th.—Rose very early that we might attend divine service at Berhampore. It was performed in a barrack, luckily vacant. It is strange that when all the rest of the cantonment is on a scale absolutely magnificent, there should not be a place of worship there. Visited the hospital, and found it in admirable order, though there were a number of patients still labouring under the Java fever. After breakfast we went to see a collection of Hindoo antiquities and curiosities of the country, which has been formed with great activity and perseverance by Colonel Stuart. The examination of it confirmed the opinion I had before entertained, that the present Hindoo mythology is not the

depravation of a more rational system, but that from the beginning a wild incoherent and stupidly absurd pack of fancies were devised by the Brahmins to occupy the minds of the people. Since their intercourse with us they have endeavoured to connect and reconcile their legends, in which they have had great assistance from the disposition of Europeans to find something abstrusely emblematical in the nonsense. There is not anything elegant in the remnants in Colonel Stuart's museum, either as to execution or as to taste. We gave a dinner afloat to the principal officers and ladies of the garrison.

July 11th.—Went very early to Mr. Brooke's, where the Nawab was to meet me at breakfast. Mr. Brooke's is five miles from Berhampore, and scarcely less from Moorshadabad. The country, though quite flat, is pretty. It is well wooded, and highly cultivated. The Nawab arrived about nine in barbaric state. The mixture of trappings, really handsome, with appendages ludicrously shabby, has a strange effect to our eyes, but never offends those of a native. After the Nawab's departure, I held a durbar for the principal native inhabitants of Moorshadabad. A number were presented to me. When this was finished I had long conversations on business with particular individuals. It was gratifying to me to find that Lieutenant-General Palmer, whose ability and innate knowledge of Indian affairs render his opinion important, agreed with me perfectly as to the expedience (and indeed necessity) of extinguishing the fiction of the Mogul Government. This is also Mr. Brooke's earnest conviction from what he has seen in many years' management of the Nizamut affairs. With Mr. Brooke I had long discussions respecting the state of this and adjacent districts. His position gives him great insight, and he has not the inducements for colouring facts which may exist with the judicial officers and collectors. Major Paulby, who has the superintendence of the annual works for securing the city and its vicinity against inundations, gave me much interesting information. We dined with Mr. Brooke at four o'clock, and returned to sleep in our vessel.

July 12th.—Weighed anchor at dawn, for the purpose of breakfasting, according to engagement, with the Nawab. The wind was so unfavourable, and the tracking against the stream in a remarkably hot day so laborious, that we got on very slowly. The town of Cossimbazaar, from which the river has now considerably receded, may almost be said to connect with Berhampore on one side, and with Moorshadabad on the other, so as to form a continuous population. The latter, though exceedingly extensive, has little the look of a city. It consists of a number of villages clustered together with several small patches of tree-jungle among them. The people, however, on the banks were well dressed, and had an air of polish. It was nearly mid-day before we got abreast of the Nawab's place, off which we anchored. A company of sepoys had been sent from Berhampore for the occasion; and they, with the Grenadier company that formed my escort, occupied the ghaut or landing-place. To gratify the Nawab, we consented to be rowed ashore in a most splendid boat, which he had just caused to be built. It was a *morpunkha* (peacock's feather) really elegant, but very inconvenient. The howdah or seat, near the bows, according to the fashion of those boats, was an extensive canopy of silver brocade, divided into three domes, which were supported by silvered pillars. The body of the boat was painted with flowers on a yellow ground like a *chintz*. The effect was equally light and rich, but the howdah afforded little shelter from the sun. The boat must be from four score to ninety feet long. Her head and stern were so high out of the water, that the man who managed the oar with which she was steered, easily communicated (by dancing) a springing motion to those who sat in the howdah. Gaudy palankeens, belonging to the Nawab, were ready for us at the ghaut; but we preferred our own, and proceeded in them to the palace. The gateway was ruinous, and never could have been other than mean. The first and second courts within were neglected beyond conception: the buildings in a state of dilapidation, while weeds and rubbish filled the corners. The elephants, camels, cavalry, and sepoys were drawn up in these courts, and made a lively show.

Passing through a narrow gorge, like an alley between two dead walls, we found ourselves on the sudden at the hall of the divan, on the entrance steps of which the Nawab was waiting to receive us. We embraced; after which he made his salaam to Lady Loudoun; and then offering each of us a hand, led us to the head of the breakfast table. The breakfast was mere matter of form, though handsomely laid out. The room was poor; the walls whitewashed; arches ornamented with painted wood, coloured and carved with equal coarseness. A few English fox-hunting prints, of the secondary rate, decorated one side. After a little while, some splendid jewels, with many trays of fine shawls and brocades, were offered. I took a common shawl handkerchief, which I said I would keep in remembrance of him, but declined the rest. Lady Loudoun took a muslin handkerchief, excusing herself from accepting any of the rich ornaments of pearl and emerald which she was pressed to receive. We then rose from table, and proceeded to visit the Walideh Begum, the Nawab going before to receive us at the zenana. We passed in our palankeens through some irregular ruinous courts, and even through the shambles where entrails and all kinds of filth were lying about. Arrived at an entrance which resembled the backway to some play-house, we got out of our palankeens and walked into the court round which the buildings are placed. There was not the least attempt at neatness in anything we saw. A few miserable shrubs only intimated that even the natural amusement of cultivating flowers was overlooked. The grand hall of audience, open to the square, can be likened to nothing but the sort of building one sees in the little tea-gardens about London. Half the building was separated from the rest by sheets or coarse table-cloths sewed together. Behind this sat the Begum. Lady Loudoun went within the curtain, where she found everything correspondent to what met our eyes. We talked through the screen. When I desired to take my leave, the Nawab (as he had done for himself in his own apartments) desired permission to put over my neck a wreath of foil. It was gold, silver, crimson, and green, so extraordinarily light that great skill of workmanship must be required

to execute it. They fall to pieces very readily, but while they are fresh they are really pretty. We heard a violent contest behind the screen from the Begum's insisting that Lady Loudoun should take a splendid necklace, which Lady Loudoun as sturdily refused. The Begum made many attempts to throw it over Lady Loudoun's shoulders, and resistance to this onset was the bustle we heard. I was forced to interfere, and I requested Mr. Brooke to explain the invincible resolution Lady Loudoun had taken of not accepting any present of intrinsic value while she should be in India; a determination which we could not hope these people should comprehend, but to which they were forced to bow. Lady Loudoun represents the Walideh Begum as vulgar in appearance and manners. We thence went to the Douleen Begum, the favourite wife of the Nawab. She was better lodged than the Walideh; still, all looked patched and incongruous. Our ceremony here was similar to what we had before experienced. The curtain was of rather better materials, yet only striped stuff and dirty. Magnificent jewels were urgently pressed on Lady Loudoun, and refused. She only took a little bottle of sandal-wood oil. We then proceeded to the Bhow Begum, the Nawab's other wife, where exactly the same forms took place. I was surprised at the insolent authority with which the head eunuch (who was on our side of the curtain) spoke to the poor woman. She probably had not understood something which Mr. Brooke said to her on my part, on which the eunuch in a high voice and tone of reprehension asked her why she did not answer. Remarking this to the gentleman next to me, who happened to be long conversant with the manners of the country, I was told these fellows were allowed to treat the women with great harshness. We here took leave of the Nawab, and returned to our vessel strongly impressed with the shabbiness and misery of an Asiatic zenana. There were within the walls of the palace very many beggars who harassed us with uncommon importunity.

At eight at night we repaired to the Roshen Baugh, a palace or villa which the Nawab has built for himself, on the west side of the river. It is simply a gentleman's house,

distinguished by nothing of furniture, except that at each end of the two principal rooms there were handsome mirrors. We were led by the Nawab, who met us on the steps, to a verandah behind the house, whence we saw a kind of transparent wall, fashioned in a variety of colours, which had a good effect. A nautch commenced as soon as we seated ourselves on the sofa. Here I was again struck with the inconsistency which appears in all the arrangements of these people. Fond as they are of the nautch, the effect of this part of the entertainment was destroyed by two rows of men who stood the whole length of the room, in the centre, with large embroidered hand-punkhas to fan the guests on each side. The play of these punkhas allowed one to catch only momentarily the gestures of the performers. The strain of the song was in general monotonous : and it seemed as if amidst all the modulations the great effort was to make the sound of the English *a* in father predominant with a marked nasal tone. Fireworks, very good, were now let off. Then we were summoned to supper. It was handsome; in the English, or rather in the Anglo-Indian style, with loads of meat and variety of wines. There were decorations of artificial fruit, in wax, admirably executed. After supper we took leave of the Nawab, and returned to our boats.

July 13th.—Weighed anchor at day-break. A fresh breeze rose and carried us forward rapidly. Sometimes the squalls were fresh, and a boat was upset. The crew were all saved. The cargo was only charcoal for the supply of my cooking boat. We anchored in the evening off Nasipore.

July 14th.—The wind being fair and fresh we arrived at an early hour off Jungpore, where we had promised to stop and dine with Mr. Ramsay. We examined the winding of his silk. The moths are four times of the size of those in Italy, and quite a different kind. The cocoons are small : three of them, I should imagine, would not contain as much silk as one of the Italian. We had an excellent dinner, and slept on board.

July 15th.—Reached the cut between the Banghretty and the Ganges, near Sooty, early in the afternoon, but as the current was so strong against us, with an unfavourable wind, as to make it clear that the getting through would be a long operation for the fleet, we brought-to for the night. I walked to the cut to examine it. There had been in this place a small channel, which, when the waters were very high, afforded a temporary and occasional communication with the Ganges. The obstruction to navigation experienced for some months every year, on account of the shoals at the natural junction of the Banghretty with the Ganges, induced our Government to try whether by making a canal (in the direction indicated by the course of the flood) across a narrow sandy strip, a permanent communication might not be effected. The cut was accordingly undertaken. As soon as the water of the river was led into it the force of the stream achieved what was far beyond expectation. It has ploughed a channel of considerable depth, about one hundred and fifty yards in breadth; and the flow of water through it is such as gives every reason to believe that the junction is secure for every season.

July 16th.—By day-break we attempted the passage. It was a laborious undertaking, each boat being to be haled through by large gangs from the neighbouring villages, added to their own crews. As soon as each got into the Ganges it could set its sails to a fresh of wind. Of course, sad distance between the vessels would have been occasioned had we not merely slanted up for a little way, and then anchored near the further shore. No village designated the place, but it was in a line with the ruins of Gour. As we passed through the cut, great masses of the elevated bank fell into the water. The force of the stream is rapidly undermining the southern shore, and I should not be surprised were the Hooghly to become, in consequence, a still more considerable branch of the Ganges than it now is. The original course of the Banghretty into the Ganges, near Mohungunge, is likely to become impassable, except in the height of the floods.

July 17th, Sunday.—We proceeded no further than to Seebgunge, where we waited to let our flotilla collect. The boats had suffered great difficulties from the strength of the current and violence of the gusts. Two boats, with sepoys of the escort, ran foul of each other, and both had a side stove in. The men were got out into other boats before their vessel sank. We had divine service in the evening.

July 18th.—Had a fine breeze, and anchored in the evening off Furruckur, erroneously called Furrackabad in Reynell's map.

July 19th.—With a favourable wind we reached Rajemahl by mid-day. In the evening I rode about two miles into the country, to see the ancient palace of the Soubahdars of Bengal. It is all in ruins, and can never have been worthy of notice. It has no extent for magnificence, and the small remains of tracery work give no reason to think there was any nicety or elegance of ornament belonging to it. Its name of Phul-Baugh, indicating a place where flowers were cultivated, makes it probable that this was considered as a retired villa, though there is nothing in the spot to recommend the building a retreat there.

July 20th.—Went in the morning to see the remains of the palace on the bank of the river. It has been on a considerably larger scale than the other, yet there is little to persuade one that it could ever have been splendid. The marble hall is the principal object to which the natives call your attention. The room is only 21 feet long by 15 broad. It is floored with black marble, slightly, and not inelegantly, inlaid with white. The walls are of a coarse white marble. Nothing of the ornaments commands any attention, except some sentences in the Persian character, inlaid with black marble in the white, round one of the doors. The arches have much of the Gothic turn. No impression of magnificence was left by these ruins.

July 24th.—While the fleet was preparing to sail I got

a ride on the plain. I remarked many of the nests of the white ants of extraordinary height. One of them could not be under ten feet, as it was a great deal higher than my head, though the horse I was riding was very tall. These nests are conical, and appear too thin to stand against the weather; yet they resist the rains and storms perfectly. Several of them were clothed with a leafy creeper like bind-weed, quite to the top, and had a singular appearance. About the middle of the day it began to blow fresh, with heavy showers of rain. The tide which we were stemming was very rapid; and three crazy vessels, unable to bear the strain, foundered; but their crews were luckily saved. The passage close to Vidhya Soornag (the Holy Cave) is dangerous on account of the rocks and the violence of the current; so that, as we had a favourable breeze for getting through it, I did not land to examine some antiquities which are to be seen at the spot. The place is in Reynell's map erroneously called Pointye, which is the name of a village at a little distance inland. I have seen drawings of these antiquities, which are basso-relievos on a small scale cut in the rock. They exhibit the Indian divinities, with this only remarkable, that the faces have the features of the hill people; namely, broad nostrils and thick lips, though not of the negro character. After some misadventures from vessels running foul of each other through the whirls of the current, we anchored a little short of Colgong, and had divine service.

July 25th.—I rode in the morning to a house, belonging to a Mr. Davidson, which has a complete view of the rocks of Colgong, as well as of the inland country. The latter is wild and picturesque; being chiefly scattered wood upon knolls which are the spurs of the Rajemahl Hills. The rocks are also striking. There are two of them. They appear like mounds of vast stones which had originally been soft, and rounded by the current. Some huts are built on each, and there are a few trees growing out of the fissures. The current is exceedingly strong between these rocks and the shore; so that the vessels are forced to be tracked through it; and there is the risk of the guy-rope's breaking, in which

case the boat could not fail to be thrown on the rocks. We reached Baughlipore (quitting the main river and going up a nullah) in the afternoon. Sir Frederick Hamilton, the collector, had met us down the river, and was now to be our host. Before we went to his house we took our evening's airing. Lady Loudoun and I went on an elephant, and the rest of the party in carriages, to see the house built by Mr. Cleveland and his monument. The house is finely situated on a hill commanding an extensive view of the Ganges and adjacent country. They assured us here that at certain times the Nepaul hills can be seen from the upper part of this house, though the reputed distance be 200 miles. They say that this only happens when there has been a considerable fall of rain for some hours, rendering the atmosphere peculiarly clear. The monument aims not at elegance. In truth, though the elevation of it was a proper and politic recognition of the individual's merits by the Company, the erection of it was in other respects superfluous. The reverence which at an early age Mr. Cleveland had created for himself in the minds of the natives will not suffer his name to sink into oblivion. The natives reared a monument to him at the other end of the town. It contains a small chamber into which they often go to pray; and in the lapse of a century or two the name of Cleveland is likely to be confounded with manifold appellations which they have for each of their divinities. We dined and slept at Sir Frederick's, where the hospitality was in the best tone.

July 26th.—Rode out early in the morning. The extent and population of the town is greater than I had imagined. A Mahommedan mosque there is in a better style of building, and more elegantly ornamented as to the friezes, than anything I have before seen in this country. Some of the tracery was worthy of introduction into England, and we had it copied. In the evening we went to see an indigo work. The arrangements are coarse though expensive. From what I recollect of indigo works in Carolina, I should think much improvement might be made here. We then proceeded to look at some remnants of antiquity which Major

Franklin had collected. There was not anything striking either in conception or execution. In the course of the day I saw a curious exhibition. It was a bear who went through all the forms of a Hindostanee wrestling-match with his keeper. The creature seemed to understand the trick perfectly, and preserved its good temper while its master rolled over and over with it on the ground. It was not muzzled.

July 27th.—Having taken leave of our hosts overnight, we rose at three that I might review the corps of Hill Rangers about five miles from Baughlipore, our vessels being directed to proceed along the nullah parallel to our road. The corps, composed of men from the Rajemahl Hills, went through its business extraordinary well. The Commandant, Major Littlejohn, detaches parties in succession to shoot game with their muskets in the hills; a practice admirable for rendering the men expert with their pieces, as well as ready at getting through the tangled woods with which all hilly ground in India is covered.

After the review, we went to see two insulated towers in the neighbourhood. They have some resemblance to the round towers in Ireland; but are not above half the height to which those have been ordinarily raised. The door in these Indian towers is on a level with the ground: whereas, in all the towers I have seen in Ireland the door is at an elevation not to be reached but by a ladder. Evidently, those which I saw this day were of no considerable antiquity. Some Brahmins, by appointment, brought to us a stone with an inscription of extraordinary age. There seems to be no contest among the learned in Hindoo lore as to admitting the inscription to bear a date about 600 years before Christ; but a term far anterior is insisted upon for it by many. It is lucky that it is now in the hands of the Brahmins, who never let it see the day but on grand occasions, as the presents they receive when they do produce it gives them an interest to preserve it from accident.

Having reached our boats we soon got out of the nullah into the river, along the bank of which we were forced to

track. This gave an opportunity to a number of men and women, all apparently in perfect health and able to work, to harass us with begging. The style is peculiarly revolting, as it really is an attempt to wear you into submission by clamour. We had undergone the same at Baughlipore and at the review ground. A breeze springing up, we hoisted sail, and passed Jangheera, a temple to Sheeva, built on one of two rocks, which rise nearly in the mid-stream of the river. The current here ran with such rapidity that many of our vessels could not stem it, and were thrown sadly astern. We were forced, that the separation might not become still greater, to anchor for the night on the north side of the river, about half way between Baughlipore and Monghyr. The Corrukpore hills furnished a fine termination to the view in one direction.

July 28th.—Adverse wind, and the strength of the current allowed us to make but little progress, and the fleet got entangled amid sand banks, which occasioned great separation. We brought to about seven miles short of Monghyr, to let the other vessels rejoin us. This day and yesterday we have seen a number of persons floating down the stream by means of an empty earthenware jar (well corked) under each arm. Nearer to Baughlipore, some of them carried milk-pots on their heads for sale at that place. This mode of voyaging has little of trouble in it, for it requires no exertion; but there is great peril from the alligators. That danger is solved to each individual by his belief that if it be his fate to be devoured by an alligator, the creature would come and take him out of his bed.

July 29th.—The wind was still unfavourable, and the river very rough. Three vessels which had struck against each other, went down; but only two men were lost. In the afternoon we anchored at Sittacoon. We went ashore to see the hot spring. It rises in the plain in the middle of a small brick tank which has been made around it. The spring is by no means copious. It raised Fahrenheit's thermometer to 145°. I was told that two months hence the

temperature will be much lower. This of course must arise from the draining of the water during the rainy season into those cavities in which the steam from still more profound reservoirs is condensed before it visits the surface. The water is pure and tasteless. Having satisfied our curiosity at the spring, we went to see a house built by General Ellerker, on the Peer Puhur, an elevated rocky hill. The prospect is extraordinarily extensive and singularly varied. On the other side of the river vast plains stretch themselves to the north. The hither view consisted of a number of craggy monticules in a flat which reached to the Corrukpore hills. These monticules strikingly display what has been the operation of nature in that spot. The same subterranean fire which heats the water has by causing air to expand in cavities below, forced up the strata of clay so as to throw them on their edges at the centre of each hill; baking at the same time the mass into a kind of coarse slaty stone. I could not perceive any fragments whence one could infer the explosion of fire at the surface.

July 30th.—Proceeded in carriages to Monghyr, while our boats were to advance along the shore. The remains of the fort present little remarkable. It is of such extent that it immediately suggests the solution of the facility with which so many of the Indian forts have been carried by escalade. The guarding properly such a length of rampart, would require a prodigious garrison, even were the troops of the best disciplined and most alert description. The works have been suffered to go entirely to decay, the altered circumstances of our dominion no longer attaching any interest to this particular position. Yet the rampart ought to be prevented from falling; because the case might occur in which a refuge of this nature, whither the neighbours might carry valuable property, were the country overrun by hostile cavalry, would be very useful. I examined specimens of various manufactures here. The natives have imitated British fowling-pieces and rifles with great skill. These fire-arms are very neatly made; but the barrels are apt to burst. The articles which I saw did great credit to the ingenuity of the

workmen. There is much alarm here about the state of the crops in a wide tract around this place. They have not had a drop of rain since the 17th of last month, though this is the wet season.

July 31st.—We had service at seven in the morning, on board our boat. Some officers and ladies from the station attended. The wind was unfavourable; therefore a trial was made whether vessels could be tracked past the fort, for which purpose measures had been taken the evening before. The stream sets with violence against a rock on which a bastion of the fort is built. Two smaller boats were warped past the bastion with some difficulty. The third, of larger size, was whirled against the rock, and went down immediately. No life was lost; but all that belonged to the detachment of sepoys embarked in the boat was either carried away or ruined. Towards the afternoon, heavy rain came on, and continued through the night, but without changing the wind. The superstition of the natives gave me credit for the salutary showers.

August 1st.—The wind being still against us, I rode out in the morning. The vicinage of Monghyr is thickly studded with villages. I went through some of them. It struck me as very remarkable, that human creatures living for so great a length of time in rather a civilized state of society, should not have attained a better notion of daily practical convenience. They seem to have been totally insensible to the fact that a straight line from one place to another is the shortest; and the wretched serpentine paths which lead one through their villages must be a constant embarrassment to them in driving their cattle, sheep, and goats, out to pasture.

The Irish peasant makes shifts from want of means, the Bengalee from choice with superabundance of materials at his disposal. Nor is it indolence that withholds the latter, for the poor fellows show much exertion when they wish to effect anything. The news that the allies had entered Paris reached us this morning. It came by way of Constantinople

to Bombay. The rain came on again extraordinarily heavy, so that one may now trust the crops are secure. It continued raining all the evening.

August 2nd.—The fleet remained wind-bound; the day rainy. Some persons floating down the middle of the stream on kedgerie (earthenware) pots, with small umbrellas over their heads, presented a singular appearance. Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Sealy, and Mr. Blagrove, who had come to pay their official attendance, joined us this day.

August 3rd.—Continuation of the foul wind, with very heavy rain. An attempt was made to tow or track one of our vessels round the bastion; but the two ropes broke through the violence of the stream, and the vessel had a narrow escape from perishing. Between the showers the heat (as it was the two former days) has been excessive.

August 4th.—Still detained; with the same weather; and no occurrence.

August 5th.—We took advantage of a slight shift of wind to make a slant across the river, in hopes of thence clearing the bastion, by going on the other tack. The wind failed us as we reached the opposite shore, where we anchored just below some very dangerous rocks. In the evening a breeze arose, and we hoisted sail. The wind being but faint, and the current excessively strong, the few vessels which were with us but just cleared the bastion, and drifted into a kind of bay behind it. This pass of Monghyr is a seriously embarrassing one. Boats have often been detained at it for three weeks. The fleet was much separated, because the greater part of the vessels which had attempted to cross the river with us in the morning had been caught in the middle of the stream by the calm, and had been carried down a long way.

August 6th.—A favourable wind and very fresh, arose in the night. It soon brought up to us the distant vessels,

so that about nine in the morning we also made sail. We ran along a shore displaying the remains of many mosques and tombs, indicating the former grandeur of Monghyr. When I say splendour, I mean it in the Indian sense; for it is impossible to look at the remains of any of these cities which have been the residences of Moslem or Hindoo sovereigns, and not to be struck with one particular deficiency. There is scarcely in the neighbourhood of any of these places the vestige of a regular road. Yet, in the vicinity of Monghyr there is plenty of stone for the formation of so great and obvious a convenience. I do not forget the road at Kishnagur. But there was in that more notion of magnificence in planting an avenue of vast extent than of commodity for the public as to communication. We ran with a fair wind about twenty miles, and anchored off the village of Soorajgunuh.

August 7th.—The chaplain's boat, having broke the tow-rope, was carried so far away by the stream that he could not reach us to perform divine service during the course of the day.

After having delayed our progress above three hours in expectation of him, we made sail and advanced about fourteen or fifteen miles. We brought-to in a narrow branch of the river, with a rich and highly cultivated country on each side. I was told that from these grounds the farmers uniformly got three crops in the year, never manuring the land, or letting it lie fallow. The river at times overflows it, and deposits so much mud as sufficiently recruits the soil. If a tumblerful of water be now taken from the Ganges, the earth which speedily subsides from it will occupy nearly a fourth part of the glass.

August 8th.—Slow progress and excessive heat. Anchored not far from Derriapore. The country rich and highly cultivated.

August 9th.—Our advance has been still slow, from want of wind, and from great heat, which oppress the men who track the boats. We passed Ba, a populous town,

and brought-to for the night close to a village on an island.

August 10th.—My ride this morning was rendered disagreeable, as it has been for the last two days, by the hollowness of the ground, which the rats have undermined in a strange manner. The rats are about the size of a full-grown guinea-pig, and are pied yellow and white. The heat and great strength of the stream delayed our progress, and we anchored ten miles short of the custom-house of Patna. Mr. Money, the collector, joined the fleet yesterday.

August 11th.—Though our distance was so short, the stream was so strong that we did not anchor off Bankipore (the further part of Patna) till after dark. This was not for want of wind. We literally, after passing the custom-house, scarcely made way ahead with a gust which overset three vessels. We landed and took up our quarters in the house of Mr. Duncan Campbell, who superintends the package of the opium here for the Company.

August 12th.—An address was presented to me by the European resident at Patna.

As soon as the sun was near setting I rode out, but I got encircled by such a crowd, which accompanied me throughout the ride, that I might rather be said to take the steam than take the air. The people were very respectful, for which the inhabitants of Patna are not famous. The population consists very much of Moguls; and as the better families of them are barred from most of the advantageous lines of life by the system of our government, they are very apt to sow dissatisfaction among the lower classes. This being the Prince Regent's birthday, in honour of him, as well as on occasion of the recent news from Europe (the suppression of Napoleon and limitation of France to reasonable boundaries), I ordered the enlargement of eighteen convicts under sentence of perpetual labour in chains. We had at night a splendid entertainment given by Mr. Campbell to the European ladies and gentlemen.

August 13th.—Rode in the morning to see the Golah.

This is a brick building, rising as a dome, constructed by order of Mr. Hastings, as one of many receptacles for grain which he meditated establishing, with the view of guarding against famine. This building seems admirably calculated for the purpose. Its height and its diameter are about 100 feet. The wall is very thick and well built. Four doors, on a level with the ground, afforded facility for taking out the grain. Two spiral staircases lead by an easy ascent to the top, where the grain was to be delivered into the building by a central aperture. The plan was that in cheap years rice should be purchased and accumulated in buildings of that sort, till each should be full. No second Golah has been built, and no grain has ever been lodged in this one. I understand it is urged that grain would swell and spoil if laid up in such a mass, and that the having such a resource (if the grain did not spoil) would make the people less active in tilling the ground. I am not satisfied of the validity of these objections. The supposition that the grain would spoil is gratuitous. Rice in the husk, if kept secure from the weather, will remain good for very many years, and inattention to the cultivation of the lands is by no means a consequence that can be connected with such a provision. The horrors of the famine, which stimulated Mr. Hastings to undertake this magnificent system of securing the natives from the recurrence of so dreadful a calamity, appear to have been too soon forgotten. Unquestionably, there is now much more soil in culture than there was at that time; but peculiarities of season may defeat all the confidence which rests on that circumstance, and this very year the delay of rain for ten days more would probably have ruined all the expectant crops. The alarm was very great.

The cultivation of potatoes is spreading fast, and will be a material security against dearth; but it does not yet go to an extent to be reckoned upon. In the middle of the day I held a durbar.

Two brothers of the late Saadut Aly presented their nuzzurs, as did likewise all the principal natives residing

at Patna. I gratified, in a peculiar degree, Gundshaum Singh by granting permission for his wearing at the durbar (which without such leave would have been inadmissible) a sabre, bestowed upon him by Lord Wellesley for the activity of his service with Lord Lake.

He presented his nuzzar on the flat of the blade. I touched both the mohurs and the sword, when he kissed the latter, and swore by it that he would be ready to obey my call, with as many men as he could influence, whenever I might summon him to the field. He is a fine sturdy-looking fellow. As soon as he got out of the room he cried in recounting to those around him the kindness with which I had spoken to him. Our people are much too negligent of those little winning attentions which operate strongly on the feelings of the natives. We think that the simplicity of our address and habits must be comprehended by them. But in fact they are too prone to ascribe those manners in us to our holding the natives too cheap to care what they may think with regard to us.

After a durbar which I held at Calcutta, a rajah said to the public secretary, "This man knows what to say to us. You ought always to have a great sirdar at the head of the government,—was of the weaver caste, and he could not flatter us with anything he said!" I this day bestowed khilauts on the Maharajah Mitre Jeet Singh and the Maharajah of Tirhoot. The latter is of the older family, but I gave a precedence to the other on account of his personal character. I desired him to understand that my investing him with the dress of honour was not merely for his attachment to the British Government, but proceeded from my knowledge that he made all the ryots under him comfortable and happy, a tenor of conduct which I wished to distinguish by that public applause. After the durbar, a dwarf was produced. He was seventeen years of age; about the ordinary height of a child five years old, but of lighter make. His head was small, and his countenance good. There was nothing of that want of proportion which usually characterises dwarfs.

We went in the evening to see the opium warehouse.

where it is collected from the neighbouring districts, and packed in chests for transmission to Calcutta.

The building is curious. It is of brick, and of great solidity. I could not learn by whom it had been built. The plan is said to have been furnished by an Italian to one of the native princes, but this tradition appeared very vague. I could get no better satisfaction as to its original purpose. At each corner of a square centre, rising higher than the rest of the building, is a staircase (of brick), placed on segments of arches. From the flat terrace top an extensive view of the city is commanded. The town is long and narrow. Its population is estimated at above 200,000. It has more the air of a city than anything which I have before seen in India. The part of Calcutta in the vicinity of the Government House is splendid. But the remainder of the city consists of huts composed chiefly with mats and thatch. Here almost all the houses are substantial. The richer natives have good brick houses. The mansions of the lower classes are principally mud-walled (the *pisé* of France) with good tiled roofs. Immense crowds followed us, testifying respect and satisfaction. We dined with Mr. Welland, first Judge of the Provincial Court of Circuit.

August 14th.—We had divine service at Mr. Campbell's. It was numerously attended. At sunset or a little earlier I went out to ride. The streets were thronged with people waiting for our coming out. Nothing could be more reverential than their behaviour; which I mentioned for the purpose of remarking how practically essential it is a public functionary should keep up a degree of state, such as may operate on the eyes of the multitude. This unusual tone of the populace has been noticed by all the English gentlemen here, yet they do not seem to reason from it. At some little distance from the town I perceived a collection of people; on approaching I found it was Gundshaum Singh with a numerous tribe of attendants. He had stationed himself there that he might have a chance of seeing me. He ran forward with a joyful eagerness, which was really touching, and entreated me to lay my hand on his sword. When I had

done so, speaking cordially to him, he reiterated his oath of attending me with his followers wheresoever I might require his service. As he is opulent and liberal, he has many adherents.

At dinner I tasted some wine which Mr. Havel sent to me for trial. He is a person who has made a large fortune by supplying the navy and army with provisions. The wine was but three months old, and this is the first attempt at making wine in these parts; the result is very encouraging. The present wine is likely to become very agreeable when the sweetness is somewhat gone off. But it is probable that experience will teach the art of making wine of a still higher quality. Grapes are said to thrive extraordinarily well in this district. We have had many figs, but they are devoid of flavour.

August 15th.—The repair of damages sustained by our fleet prevented our departure. Nothing particular occurred. In the evening Lady Loudoun went to see a Sikh temple. The gentlemen who accompanied her said that there could not be less than 50,000 persons collected round it, as her intended visit was known.

They were struck, as they had been on former occasions, with the marked deference of the crowd. I experienced exactly the same tone in the quarter in which I had ridden.

August 16th.—Our boats having preceded us yesterday evening, we went in carriages to Dinapore (eight miles), where I reviewed a battalion of the 13th Native Infantry. They were in good order. The cantonment here, containing barracks for a strong regiment of European infantry, is a fine establishment. The country around it is in the highest state of cultivation, and a great air of opulence marks the whole neighbourhood. A public breakfast was given by Major-General Marley at Mr. Havel's house. It stands in the midst of a farmyard on a most extensive scale, admirably laid out, and kept in the neatest condition.

After breakfast we embarked; but for want of wind we

were not able to proceed above four miles. The part of the river where we were was very unfavourable for tracking.

August 17th.—We attempted to get forward at daybreak, but a dead calm, with excessive heat, soon forced us to stop.

Many of the boats were carried a long way down by the stream. After midday excessively heavy rain came on, and lasted about two hours. It was followed by a fine breeze, of which the whole fleet took advantage. It suddenly began to blow fresh. And a vessel with baggage was overset owing to the incorrigible habit of the boatmen to tie the sheets of their sails in such a manner as that they never can suddenly be let fly. We did not make ten miles in the course of the day. Mr. Younge and Mr. Mitford, the acting judge and acting collector of Sarun, had joined us; as had also Mr. Vaughan, the judge of Shahabad.

August 18th.—We got as far as Chuprah, where we anchored. It is the principal town of the zillah, but resembles a long straggling village. The case of a lad of seventeen, under capital sentence here for child-murder, led to shocking information about the prevalence of that crime in this vicinity. The deliberate premeditated murder of a poor infant for the sake of stealing its little ornaments, worth but a few shillings at most, is an atrocity which, without such proof, one could not have conceived frequent in any state of society. An instance was detailed to me where a woman cut the throat of her own nephew, a fine boy between five and six years old, in order to appropriate to herself his bangles, the value of which she must have accurately known. They were worth, in English money, one shilling and ten pence half-penny. These effects, in the absence of inculcated morals, in a people of placid temper, afford much ground for reflection.

August 19th.—Reached Buxar. The strength of the wind opposed to the current made the water exceedingly rough. Since we have got above the confluence of the Dewah and Gogra, the breadth of the river has diminished much. It is not here a mile and a half wide, but it is deep. Colonel

Toone (the commandant), and the rest of the station staff, came off to me. I went ashore with him to look at the fort. It is small, with four round bastions. The ditch is wide, and the brick revetment of the works is in good order. No neighbouring ground commands it. Going to the edge of the cliff on which the fort stands, in order to look at the reach of the river, I saw a boat upset by a sudden gust. Her crew, eight men and a boy, clung to the rigging, but were carried down the stream, and whirled in the eddies with great rapidity. Not a boat, of the many sailing near them, attempted to give them any succour. My own boat did not push off from the beach till after repeated calls from me, and then proceeded with a languor quite disgusting. The insensibility of the natives towards each other is astonishing. All the poor fellows belonging to the wrecked boat were saved.

August 20th.—Sailed from Buxar. Heavy storms of rain came on; and, the smaller boats not being able to face the gusts, we lost the best part of the day under the shelter of the northern bank. In the afternoon we passed the mouth of the Carumnassa. The disposition of the Hindoos seems peculiarly turned to venerate rivers; yet against this particular stream there exists a prejudice which I have not heard well explained. A Hindoo who shall have to ferry over this river, when on a pilgrimage to any of the sacred places, suffers indescribable anxiety, lest any splash from the oars should touch his garments. If a single drop of the water of the Carumnassa rest upon him, all his past labour goes for nought; and he must begin his pilgrimage anew, or pay a grievous sum to the Brahmins for his purification. We stopped for the night near the village of Sairpoor.

August 21st.—We arrived in the afternoon off Ghazypore. Colonel Hardyman, commanding the King's 17th Foot and the station, came aboard. At five I went ashore, and walked to the monument of Lord Cornwallis. It was painful to see it unfinished, so long after his death. But as Government, just before I left Calcutta, allotted money for completing it

with all despatch, it will not remain in this disgraceful state. The freestone with which it is constructed comes from Chunar, and is of excellent quality. This being Sunday, we had divine service in a tent ashore. Mr. Brooke, Governor-General's agent at Benares; Mr. Craycroft, registrar; and Mr. Harding, acting commercial resident, came to me.

August 22nd.—I received aboard the *Sonamukhee* the Rajah of Benares, who had come to present his nuzzur. He is prodigiously large and fat, but with a lively and good countenance. I had previously (at daybreak) reviewed the 17th regiment. He was *incognito* on the field, and was much struck with the performance of the troops; they were in high order. After the review we breakfasted with the officers of the corps. Ensign Stephens, acting engineer at Benares, came to me there. As soon as the Rajah's visit was over we weighed anchor. We proceeded little more than six miles; but we had not expected to make much progress, and our object was to get out of the bight of Ghazypore, lest an unfavourable wind should catch us in it. The river at Ghazypore is narrowed to about half a mile; of course, it is very deep, and the current prodigious. It sometimes runs at the rate of eight knots an hour.

August 23rd.—We had a leading breeze, very fresh, and made a great way. At Chochuckpore there is a fine ghaut, or flight of stair, of redstone, and of great breadth. A temple stands near the top of it. One of our attendants, who was walking along the bank, saw a number of monkeys on a large banian tree. He opened his bag, and offered them some bread; on which they descended and picked up the pieces round his feet, without any seeming apprehension. They are never molested in the neighbourhood of the temples. Mr. Wilberforce Bird, magistrate of the city of Benares, and Mr. Salmon, collector, joined us. We are to reside at the house of the latter; therefore I emancipated him immediately that he might be ready to receive us.

August 24th.—For the last two or three days the heat

has been very great. This day it became quite oppressive; the thermometer was at 98° . Of course, the tracking (what little breeze there was being unfavourable) was too laborious for us to make much progress. At night violent rain, with heavy gusts and much lightning, came on; yet the air was scarcely cooled. During the day, what is emphatically called the hot wind had reigned. I was made to observe that drinking glasses, which stood perfectly sheltered from the sun, had become quite warm from the temperature of the atmosphere. Lieutenant Morrieson, station engineer of Chunar, joined the fleet.

August 25th.—I indulged myself in a good walk along the bank, while the boats were tracking tediously. Since I left Calcutta, I have seldom missed getting a ride either morning or evening; yet, although I have on these occasions usually deserted the beaten path, and have gone to some distance in the deserted fields, I have not seen a single snake. This proves that they cannot be numerous; of course, danger from them is little to be apprehended. We anchored within a mile and a half of Raj Ghaut, the eastern extremity of Benares, between eight and nine at night, too late to think of landing.

August 26th.—Landed at six o'clock at Raj Ghaut, where I found Mr. Brooke, Mr. Salmon, Mr. Bird, and other gentlemen waiting for me. Proceeded to Mr. Salmon's house, where, in the middle of the day, I had a levee. The civilians who attended it were Mr. Brooke, Mr. Sanford, Mr. Courtney Smith, Mr. Rattray, Mr. Brown, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, Mr. Bird, jun., Mr. Harding, Mr. Harding, jun., Mr. Forde, Mr. Boldero, Mr. Lindesay, Mr. Wynne, Rev. Mr. Brodie, Dr. Yeld, and Mr. Robinson. Major Wilford was also present. Lady Loudoun did not land till the evening, having been somewhat indisposed.

August 27th.—I had risen before day to ride, but such heavy rain came on as obliged me to remain at home. I therefore betook myself to papers, and continued working at

them from that early hour with only the interval of breakfast and of audiences till evening. I found myself uncommonly exhausted; but as Mr. Salmon gave a great entertainment to the gentlemen of the station, I was obliged to attend at dinner. My efforts, however, to resist the weight of fatigue were fruitless for at length I fainted. On recovering, I was sensible of much feverish feel, and readily connected this debility with a restlessness which had prevented my getting sleep for two preceding nights.

August 28th.—I remained confined with considerable fever. My indisposition obliged me to put off receiving the visit which the princes, brothers of the King of Delhi, were to pay me this day. Last night the whole city of Benares was brilliantly illuminated out of compliment to me. The attention is the more particular, because that the inhabitants are a very turbulent set, and in general undisguised contemners of Government. As all the English gentlemen live at Secrole between four and five miles from Benares, no example of theirs could influence this procedure. Mr. Brooke was desired by me to express this day my acknowledgments to some of the leading natives. They laughed and said, "You think us hot-headed, troublesome fellows, but we have our own notions of propriety, and follow them."

August 29th.—I remained confined, and interdicted from attending to business.

August 30th.—Though by no means recovered, I did not like to put off the princes again; therefore I received them at twelve o'clock. They were as follows:—Mirza Khoorrum Bukht, son of Jehandar Shah, eldest son of Shah Aalum. Jehandar Shah having died in the lifetime of his father, by the Mahommedan law the right of succession passed away from his children to the next brother existing at the decease of Shah Aalum. Second, Mirza Ali Kuddar, another son of Jehandar Shah, though not by the same wife. Third, Mirza Jalal-oo-deen. Fourth, Mirza Sulleem-oo-deen.

Fifth, Mirza Mahmood Bukht. The last three are sons of the late Mirza Shegoffa Bukht, a son of Jehandar Shah's. All these princes were simply dressed, unassuming in their manner and of good though plain address. I rose from my seat, met them at the door of the room, embraced them, and handed them to chairs beside me. After a short visit they retired.

August 31st.—I received the visit of Amrut Rao and his son, Benaick Rao; they came with a most splendid suwarree of elephants and horses, till they approached the gate of the paddock in which Mr. Salmon's house stands; when, in testimony of respect, they got into palankeens, and advanced with only a few attendants. The etiquette was that I should meet them half-way down the room, and that (having touched Benaick Rao's nuzzur) I should embrace them. This being done, I led them to chairs beside me. They were both decorated with jewels of extraordinary size and value. Amrut Rao is brother to the Peishwa, and was his competitor for the situation. To extinguish that claim, and to buy him off from opposition to us, so as to render the termination of the Mahratta war more easy, Lord Wellesley entered into engagements with Amrut Rao, that the Company should pay him annually seven lacs of rupees, until he could be settled in the command of a territory producing a revenue of that amount; with a further boon that, till such a territory should be provided, he should have a camp, within the precincts of which his jurisdiction over his followers should be absolute and unparticipated. This camp has been ever since established in the neighbourhood of Benares. The numbers attached to him have now dwindled to about 5,000. Of the tenor of his rule, though he is said to be a good-humoured man, the following instance was mentioned to me. One of his suite, in passing through the bazaar, was attacked by a Brahminy bull; that is to say by one of those cattle which are dedicated to the gods, and suffered to range at large. The animal struck the men violently in the side, and was preparing to repeat the blow, when the fellow drew his sabre, and gave it a slash across the nose. The circumstance being mentioned to Amrut

Rao, he sent for the poor wretch, and had his hand cut off immediately. This is also the ordinary punishment for theft; both hands being in some instances either severed at the wrists, or rendered useless by truncation of the fingers.

I gave to Amrut Rao an English gun of new construction, and to Benaick Rao a recently-invented double-barrelled pistol, with which they were extraordinarily gratified. In the evening I felt myself so much recovered, as to be able to take an airing in the carriage.

September 1st.—I held a durbar, which was attended by all the principal natives resident at Benares. First, the Rajah of Benares was introduced anew. As he presented his nuzzur in the light of a subject of the British Government, I touched it without rising from my chair; and I then requested him to accept a khelaut. He was accompanied by his two brothers. When he retired to be clothed in the dress, I rose, and went round the circle. I caused it to be expressed to all the persons of most weight how sensible I had been to the polite attention of illuminating the city for me, desiring that they would communicate my thanks to their neighbours. Every testimony of respect is in this country habitually regarded so much as exacted, and thence requiring no return of feeling, that this simple acknowledgment on my part appeared to touch them extremely, and they showed most lively satisfaction. The Rajah and Baboo Sheonarain Singh, to whom also I had given a khelaut, being dressed, were brought forward; when I put round the neck of each a string of pearls, and delivered to each a scrimitar and shield. The presents made by them on this occasion, and which were, as usual, transferred to the collector on the Company's account, were very handsome. I went out again in the carriage this evening. Notwithstanding violent rain, the weather continues uncommonly hot.

September 2nd.—The pundits of the college waited upon me. They showed to me their original Charter from Aurungzebe, and they presented to me a copy (prepared for the purpose) of a most curious historical work preserved among their archives. The writing and the illuminations

of this copy were beautiful. I privately directed a present to be given which should overpay its estimated worth. They then produced boys, students in the college, to exhibit their proficiency in the different branches which they were pursuing. Grammar was the first. Two boys sat facing each other on the ground and in a cadenced tone disputed on the principles of syntax. The dialogue was conducted with an artificial eagerness and quickness that savoured of asperity. Next, a boy descanted in verse on the basis of medical knowledge. Then, four boys delivered in sin-song declamation axioms of jurisprudence. Lastly, four others chanted the fundamental doctrines of religion. As far as powers of memory went, the boys appeared to be well exercised; but I had learned that the instruction communicated at this college was wretchedly superficial in every line. Regretting that an institution to which there is resort for education from all parts of India should be so deficient, I have taken those means which the superintendence of Government allows for rendering this foundation effective for its professed ends; and I have the satisfaction to believe that the directions which I have given to a committee for the purpose cannot fail to put this establishment on a right footing. The attempt would be hopeless without the co-operation of some of the principal natives; but they are so aware of the nullity of the institution as it now stands, that they wish for nothing more ardently than to be the active instruments under the British authority for its correction and improvement. They are highly pleased with our advertence to the object. I had taken a short ride in the morning and found myself but little fatigued by it.

September 3rd.—I rode again this morning, with sense of benefit. Feareful of not being able to bear the heat of the church, we had divine service performed at Mr. Salmon's. A remarkable proposal was this day made to me. Jyenarain Goshal, a rich native inhabitant of Benares, has begun a considerable building on a lot of ground belonging to him in the suburbs. He desires to make over to trustees, to be appointed by Government, this ground, with the building which

he will complete on it, as the establishment of a school for instructing native children in the English language. He proposes to make over at the same time landed property, producing 1,200 rupees annually, and Company's paper yielding interest to the same amount for the salaries of the English master and his assistants. All that is required by him in return is a pledge, on the part of Government, that the funds shall not be diverted to any other purpose. I have put this into formal train. The disposition to learn English is strong among the natives. Dr. Hare informs me that, before our departure from Calcutta, having found a proper instructor, he had fixed a day-school for teaching English to children in the neighbourhood of the Pulta powder-works; and that three young Brahmins had immediately enrolled themselves among the students.

September 4th.—I went to review the troops at the cantonment; two battalions of the 8th, and one of the 12th Native Infantry, with a detachment of the European artillery, the whole under the command of Major-General Wood, of the King's service. Though I was still very weak, I got through it without feeling much fatigued. Prince Mirza Khoorru was on the field, with four of his sons and two of his brothers. I rode towards him, but there was no making my horse approach the elephants; therefore I was obliged to content myself with sending a compliment to his Royal Highness. When the review was finished, I dismounted in front of the line, and going to the centre of each regiment, caused the native officers to be brought forward and presented to me, as they had not had any other opportunity of being introduced. As soon as this was over, I perceived the prince's elephant at but a little distance, and without remounting, I proceeded towards it. The prince hastened to descend, and came running forward with his children. I embraced him and them, speaking kindly to the latter. The poor man was so intoxicated with this public mark of attention, that I had no sooner quitted him than he entreated Mr. Brooke to give for him to the sepoys one thousand rupees out of his next instalment of stipend. Mr. Brooke very properly apprised me

of this, and I put a stop to a liberality so irreconcilable to the narrowness of his Royal Highness's circumstances, making him at the same time comprehend that he had full credit from me for the generosity of the intention. The allowance which he receives from the King of Delhi is very inadequate to his comfortable maintenance. We had scarcely got home before the rain began to fall with prodigious violence. By a whimsical coincidence, the rain, of which the crops had been in serious want, began to fall here on the day of my landing, just as it had done at Monghyr; and nothing would persuade the superstition of the natives that the change of weather was not owing wholly to the fortune of the Governor-General.

September 5th.—Before daybreak, we took leave of Mr. and Mrs. Salmon, to whose polished and frank hospitality we felt the truest obligation. We proceeded in our carriages to the city. On our arrival at the skirts of it, we were forced to get into our palankeens, on account of the narrowness of the streets. The fanaticism of the devotees who resort hither, often subjects Europeans to insult, but we experienced nothing in the crowds but an air of the greatest respect. We first repaired to Prince Mirza Khoorram's to visit him and the Sooltana Begum, his mother. The old lady, who is of the best blood of Timoor, is highly respectable. I could see her but indistinctly through the purdah. She put her hand through it, however, soliciting that I would allow her to place that of her son upon mine. Being indulged in this, she said she could now die contented, as she had recommended her son to a protection which she was sure would not prove delusive. I begged the Sooltana to rest satisfied of my dispositions. The prince presented to me a sword of no value, but from its age. It had been Nasr Jung's, and the blade was one of those which ring on being touched by the nail. We thence proceeded to Amrut Rao's. He met us in the midst of his garden, and conducted us to an open hall, admirably calculated for coolness. Fountains which forced the water up in minuter particles than I remember to have seen elsewhere, occupied the front of it. After we have been seated a few minutes and due compliments had passed, Lady Loudoun went to visit the

Bhye, Amrut Rao's wife, while I remained to hear the singing of a couple of nautch girls. Lady Loudoun found the Bhye and two ladies, who were with her, not at all subjected to the ordinary Hindostanee restraints; for they lifted the purdah and came forward to receive Lady Loudoun, without seeming to mind the gentlemen who accompanied her. On the marches of the Mahrattas the women ride; so that, being at times necessarily exposed to view, they have not that difficulty about showing themselves which is observed by other Hindoo females. While Lady Loudoun was absent, a pretty little girl, his grand-daughter, was brought to Amrut Rao, and it was pleasing to see the affection with which he treated her. She was about seven years old, and he told me she had been quite wild with the expectation of seeing the Governor-General. She suffered herself to be embraced with great complacency. On Lady Loudoun's return, magnificent jewels were brought, and earnestly pressed upon us. I referred myself to his knowledge of our customs as my excuse for declining acceptance, but it was with a harder contest that we succeeded in making him comprehend that Lady Loudoun's taking anything valuable would be the same as if I myself received it. He then urged me to accept two elephants and four horses, the latter very fine-looking ones indeed; but he pressed this not in a tone of form, but with a cordial eagerness, which was very well acted if it was not sincere. He implored that I would at least take one horse, which could not be regarded as a valuable article, but as something furnished to me by a Mahratta under obligations to the Company, which might be useful to me in the Company's service. I laughingly said that he should not have to charge me with refusing everything from him; and I took up a piece of the stuff which they wind about turbans that happened to be among the trays of shawls laid before us. He exclaimed what could I do with it. But he was perforce satisfied with the answer, that as it was not for utility, but to keep in remembrance of him that the article was chosen; it was as sufficient as any other. During these discussions rose-water was shot into the air from a syringe with an end like that of a watering-pot perforated with very small holes; this falling like dew, was not unacceptable in a

crowded hall. We parted on excellent terms. Our small boats were waiting for us at a neighbouring ghaut, to carry us to our vessels, anchored close to the opposite shore. The city of Benares, rated as containing about 900,000 fixed inhabitants, with a fluctuating population of pilgrims, merchants, &c., estimated at 100,000 more, makes a splendid appearance from the river. The proportion of houses of good masonry, and of many stories, is, I believe, greater here than in any other Indian city. Our vessels were hauled up along the southern bank of the river till we anchored close to Ramnaghur, the palace of the Rajah of Benares, whom we were to visit at night. With round bastions projecting into the water, and various-shaped buildings rising within, this edifice has a picturesque and rather grand appearance. In the evening, we went about two miles inland to see a temple left unfinished by Cheyt Singh. A tank of real magnificence, from size and from execution of the stone work, stands close to the temple, and is nearly perfect. It is lamentable to see an establishment on which so much money had been lavished abandoned in a state of incompleteness; because it would to future times have been at least a curious monument of the reigning creed of the day. A principle, however, exists among these people never to finish anything begun by a predecessor. They give as a reason for this, that no credit would rest with themselves for the erection, whatsoever might be their amount of expenditure on it; but I rather think there is some unacknowledged fear of ill-luck being entailed by their adoption of an imperfect undertaking. The temple in question is a square building, tall for the extent of its base. It is constructed with the Chunar freestone, which becomes very hard by exposure to the weather. The external sides are divided into compartments containing alto and basso relievos, exhibiting the whole detail of Hindoo mythology. The sculpture is sharp and good; the borders and the friezes, particularly about the doors, display an elegance of pattern which might be well borrowed for our own buildings. This extraordinary assemblage of the symbols of the Hindoo faith bids fair to fall into premature ruin. Much reflection was excited by the contemplation of it. The more I have studied the Hindoo mythology, the more

I am convinced of our error in ascribing to it anything of depth or ingenuity. It appears to me a mere tissue of those extravagancies which suggest themselves to all rude and illiterate tribes in their notions of preternatural beings. The phenomena of the climate in which a people exists, viewed as the operation of some superintending spirit, are always likely to determine the features of the prevailing superstition. The marked division of the year in Hindostan into three seasons of equal extent readily furnished the conception of three tutelary deities, each to preside over his portion of the year. In the four months during which the sun glares through an unclouded atmosphere, the effect of the vivifying ray in calling everything into expansion, activity, and fruitfulness, naturally subministered the idea of a Brahma or creative power as ruler of the teeming season. When this influence of the sun carried to excess had nearly parched everything, the rainy season supervened, refreshed the face of the earth, and restored to the soil the capacity for future exertion, consequences which were easily referred to a Vishnu or preserver. The winter, benumbing, withering, and prostrating the foison of the fields and groves, was aptly delineated as a Siva or destroyer. The interest of the priests, co-operating with this tendency of the mind, substantiated the floating fiction; and thence were instituted rites to those deities, the result of which was to be augmented authority and profit to the Brahminical order. That the worship of this triad should continue unadulterated under the separation of communities was impossible. Each horde that had established itself in a remote or secluded situation gave way to local impressions, to superstitions arising from accidental circumstances, or to flighty imaginations; and so a special god was devised for the petty district. Then there was no having a deity without framing a life and history for him. Now, people following the same course of habits were, without any concert, almost sure to fabricate similar occupations, conduct, and adventures for their respective gods. In process of time the augmented population of the country brought the tribes into contact with each other, and formed a chain of communication which imposed on the Brahmins the necessity of adverting to these

various aberrations from the fundamental creed. The most obvious mode of remedying the mischief, when the putting any of the tribes under the ban of heresy might have occasioned their revolt, was to found on the correspondence of adventures an assertion that the apparently different divinities were only Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva, described in the exertion of some one particular quality out of the many which they possessed : assuming that, in consequence, the local name only designated the peculiar attribute under which the individual of the triad was worshipped at that place. The inconsistencies thus induced, such as the identifying the subordinate gods Crishna and Surya, with the personages of the triad, while they were kept distinct by the occurrences of their histories, were of small account in the calculation of the Brahmins, who had to deal with a gross and submissive flock. Intercourse, however, with the Chaldeans, probably, subjected the Brahmins to a greater dilemma. The unity of the Supreme Being was a doctrine so sublime, and so congenial to the innate convictions of the heart, that the Brahmins could not directly withhold a recognition of it; yet they would not relax the hold they had obtained over the multitude by their own settled mythology. They therefore endeavoured to reconcile the systems, by declaring that the members of their triad only typified the sole Almighty in the application of one or other of his principal powers. This basis being laid, it was natural, indeed unavoidable, to construe as emblematical the numerous strange portraitures of spiritual being which irregular or barbarous fancy had generated. We Europeans, setting out with a false notion of the venerable origin of these ancient creeds, have gone beyond the Brahmins in the attempt to give allegorical meanings to that which was but simple absurdity. We endeavour to form intelligible connexions, and to advance rational solutions for the incoherent extravagancies either in sculpture or story which the antiquities of this country present : forgetting it to be so much the propensity of unenlightened man to run into those distortions, when he wants to describe a being superior to himself, as to make it certain that the North American tribes, or any other race

of savages, would with similar advantages of climate, similar facilities for concert in labour, and similar leisure, display an exactly correspondent representation of god-heads. In illustration of this I will specify the explanation which we give of the figure of Vishnu recumbent on the serpent Ananta Naga, or cobra capella, with seven heads. We translate this representation into a type of the preserving power reposing on eternity. That meaning appears to me wholly gratuitous. Our knowledge that among the Egyptians a serpent with its tail in its mouth (an emblem possibly borrowed from Hindostan) was a hieroglyphic for eternity, has induced us to affix the same sense to the serpent here. But it was the bending of the serpent into a circle, a form without an end, and not simply its supposed annual renovation of youth by casting its slough, in which the allusion of the Egyptian symbol consisted; and there is not in the Hindoo representation now under discussion any attempt to throw the reptile into that shape, neither can I learn that there exists in this country any supposition of a renewed principle of life attached to a serpent's change of skin. I see nothing in the Hindoo figure but the clumsy conception that, because a cobra capella, with one head, is a formidable animal, a serpent of that kind swelled to gigantic size, and with seven heads, must be proportionally more terrible; so that obviously it must be a divinity alone who could reduce it to subjection to his purposes. In like manner, the serpents twined round the neck and arms of the images of Siva only indicate the celestial properties of the person who could remain unharmed by such noxious ornaments. Since one head furnishes such scope of powers in the human frame, the bestowing four heads on a figure implied a multiplication of faculties, just as the giving four or more arms supposed a commensurate augmentation of strength. These seem to me to be in the lowest class of mental combinations. Sculpture and limning, pursued in a particular mode, may attain a degree of eminence in a country without any concomitant advancement of genius. This has been the case in India. Copies of statues or of pictures were easily made and widely disseminated, so that the rude fantasies received

in one quarter were speedily communicated to others; and, as there existed not either taste or science to expose the stupidity of the representations, popular reverence has sanctified them in their original idle forms. Whatsoever the Greeks may have borrowed from this source they at least refined and improved.

As soon as it was dark we proceeded to the Rajah's. According to the arrangement which he had secretly made with Mr. Brooke, we went a considerable circuit in order to approach the palace by the land side. The reason for this was explained when we reached a sort of avenue illuminated on both sides for nearly the length of a mile. The lamps, said to be 70,000 in number, were fixed on frames of bamboo; and, though the plan was simple, the effect was striking. The Rajah received us at a triumphal arch which terminated this approach. Behind it a large tent was erected under which we were requested to sit and see some fireworks. When that exhibition was over, we were desired to get into our palankeens, that we might be carried across the two outer courts of the palace. Those courts were illuminated with blue lights, the vividness of which enabled us to see the oddest mixture of splendour and squalidity around us. The narrowness of the next door through which we had to pass forbad the entrance of a palankeen, therefore we had to get out and walk. Pieces of flowered silk were spread for us to walk upon; and, as soon as we had passed over them, they were abandoned to be scrambled for by the servants. This magnificence was singularly contrasted with the narrow passages and stairs through which we now had to pass, where the light of a single small lamp scarcely enabled one to see the way. When we got to the door of the hall prepared for our reception, pieces of rich brocade spread upon the carpet marked our path to two superb chairs placed on a foot cloth of crimson velvet beautifully embroidered with gold. These were to be occupied by Lady Loudoun and me. We could scarcely prevail on the Rajah to sit on a plainer chair beside us. About twenty nautch girls were drawn up in front of us, and sang a congratulatory chorus. After a little while

Lady Loudoun went to visit the Rajah's wife in the interior apartment. The nautch girls then sang only two at a time, but without any attempt at a duet after our fashion. It is very remarkable that, when it must be a great object to every one of these girls to show herself off to advantage, female tact has never instructed them to adopt a dress which might display gracefulness of form, or to attempt a dance which might exhibit accuracy of ear and lightness of step. On the contrary, they wear cumbrous trousers which entirely cover the feet; they have a profusion of petticoats with broad fringes, which they seem to be under the continual necessity of hitching up; their only movement is the shuffling forward three or four paces, and then retiring in the same way, sometimes extending a stiff arm with the fingers spread, sometimes bending the arm on the head; and their highest elegance in winning airs appears to be the slipping off and putting up again the part of the mantle or veil which is thrown over the head. There is a perpetual repetition of this last gentility. The natives will sit for hours enjoying this exhibition. To us nothing can be more tiresomely monotonous. On Lady Loudoun's return rich presents of pearl and diamonds were offered, and of course declined. We then took our leave. Both parties were much satisfied; we with the Rajah's efforts to testify respect; he with a visit which gave him distinction in the eyes of his countrymen.

September 6th.—It had been settled that I should shoot this morning at a rumnah or preserve belonging to the Nawab Vizeer. The lagging vessels of the fleet had reached Ramnaghur by the time I got back; when a favourable breeze sprang up and enabled the whole to get across the river. There is no tracking past Ramnaghur; and the current is so strong that any vessel which should have attempted to cross to the opposite bank without a fair and brisk wind would infallibly have been carried far down the stream. We had no sooner got across than the wind failed; heavy rain came on; and at sunset we have tracked no further than to the rumnah, which I had visited in the morning.

September 7th and 8th.—Continuance of violent rain; slow progress and no occurrences.

September 9th.—The rain continued, with excessive heat between the showers. The river ran like a mill-race; so that we did not succeed in getting nearer to Sultanpore than about three miles. Lady Loudoun, going with the children after dark from one pinnacle to another, was nearly sunk by a bholiah which had been whirled away by the stream, and had lost all guidance. The cabin of her boat (the *Feel-cherry*) was beaten in, and her peril was imminent.

September 10th.—Setting off about an hour before day-break in a very light boat, I reached Sultanpore in time to review the 6th Native Cavalry according to previous appointment. The regiment went through its manœuvres in a way calculated to give me a very favourable impression of the native cavalry. After the review, I breakfast with Major Houstoun and the officers of the corps. Our vessels having got abreast of the cantonments by the middle of the day, Major-General Wood and a large company dined with us.

September 11th.—Having sent boats forward during the night for the purpose of crossing the river to Chunarghur, we set out at four in the morning, some on horseback and some in palankeens, from Sultanpore. Embarking soon after daylight at a ghaut somewhat higher up the river than the fort which we were to reach, we made our passage without difficulty, though the stream was rapid. As a specimen of an Indian fortress, Chunarghur is interesting, and it is strong. A hill within 700 yards of it affords rather too much facility for raising batteries. Our chaplain being on the spot, we had divine service performed, a circumstance not remembered to have ever occurred before at the place. We returned readily down the current to our vessels to breakfast.

September 12th and 13th.—Hot weather, contrary wind, and creeping progress.

September 14th.—Arrived about one o'clock opposite Mirzapore, the strength of the current along the steep bank on which the town stands rendering it undesirable to anchor on that side. The town, which contains between fourscore and ninety thousand inhabitants, extends far along the river, and has a good appearance. At six we went ashore to dine with Mr. George Ricketts, collector of customs. Dr. Turnbull, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Patterson, and Mr. Campbell, a merchant, were there introduced to me; as well as a number of military officers. The town was brilliantly illuminated. After dinner, which had been served in the handsomest style, we returned to our boats. The rapidity of the stream with which we have had lately to struggle may be best conceived from this fact. It has been ascertained, by the marks of a perpendicular cliff at Mirzapore, that the river fell more than twenty feet in five days.

September 15th.—Sailed from Mirzapore, and anchored at Gungerpoo; not a bad day's work.

September 16th.—Contrary wind and excessive heat. Reached Coorawan.

September 17th.—Continuation of the same weather. The Nawab Vizeer has sent to a place in the neighbourhood of Letchiagurry elephants with splendid howdahs, with others for attendants, and richly caparisoned horses, together with tents, palankeens, cooks, and all other accommodations, in case I might wish to go ashore on the left bank of the river. He has territory there. We shall probably reach them in the course of to-morrow. Anchored near Churrah.

September 18th.—Had divine service aboard. The heat was oppressive, the thermometer being at 95° , so that we did not make as much progress in tracking as we expected. Anchored about five miles short of Letchiagurry.

September 19th.—Passed Letchiagurry, receiving a salute from two field-pieces attached to a company of the Nawab Vizeer's troops stationed there.

September 20th.—An easterly wind carried us forward briskly and somewhat cooled the air. We anchored at night about eight miles short of Allahabad.

September 21st.—We anchored close to the fort about mid-day. At five o'clock we landed, and I walked round the works. The fort stands between the Ganges and the Jumna, on a tongue of land which widens speedily from its point; the latter being the position of the fortress. The old rampart to the land side has been taken down, and that face has been regularly fortified on the European system. The works have been made too high, so that the fire from them is plunging overmuch. This is not the most material defect. From an unreflecting adherence to the general principles of fortification, such a portion of the polygon as would extend from river to river was taken for the purpose. Now, in all sieges the ground of calculation on which the certainty of ultimately (unless impeded by interruption or accident) reducing the place rests, is this computation. That as the parallels of the besieger are segments of a larger circle drawn from the same centre than the portion of the fortress to which they are opposed, a greater quantity of artillery can be placed on those parallels to bear on the defences than can be mounted on the latter to annoy the assailant. Thence the probability is, that the fire of the besieger will, from its superiority, dismount the guns of the fort and dismantle the parapet, thereby securing from serious obstruction the formation of the breaching batteries and the subsequent operations from the counterscarp. It follows that on a neck of land suddenly widening from the point on which a fortress is to be placed, such a plan should be adopted for the works as should diminish the advantage an enemy would have in embracing them with his parallel.

After having inspected the fort and complimented the commandant, Colonel Haldane, on the good order in which I found it, we went to take up our residence at the house of Mr. Fortescue, the magistrate, about a mile from the fortress.

September 22nd.—Our boats, which, according to usual process, anchored in the mouth of the Jumna, had been ordered to get round the fort into the Ganges. In the trial three of them perished. The danger of the spot is strongly marked by this incident, because the current was by no means in so formidable a state as is often the case. At day-break I went to review on the glacis the two companies of artillery stationed here. They satisfied me highly. At twelve o'clock I had a levee for the European officers and civilians. Colonel Frith, with several officers, had travelled all night from Pertaubghur, to pay their attentions. At five in the afternoon I received Prince Jehangeer, who had earnestly solicited to be allowed to see me. He is third son to the King of Delhi, who wished to declare him heir-apparent, but was resisted in that plan by our Government. The young man, naturally of violent temper, was indignant at this opposition, and indulged himself in absurd attempts to raise a party with the view of carrying the matter by force. He was further so insolent to the Resident, and expressed himself in terms which gave so much to be feared for the lives of his brothers, that Government was obliged to interfere, and insist on his being removed from Court. He was accordingly sent hither in a state of honourable exile; but he behaved so ill, from excessive intemperance in drinking, that it was necessary to threaten him with closer restrictions. When my intention of visiting the Upper Provinces was proclaimed, Prince Jehangeer sent to the magistrate a request for an interview. On Mr. Fortescue's waiting on him, his Royal Highness promised that, if Mr. Fortescue would try to get him received by me, he would behave with the greatest regularity, and would confine himself to one bottle of port wine daily for his own drinking. The magistrate was glad to make the engagement. As the prince had from the date of that agreement conducted himself quietly, I made no hesitation about admitting his visit. When he arrived I rose, and advancing to the door of the room, embraced him, leading him afterwards to a chair beside me. He was in a Tartar dress; the robe crimson satin; the vest blue, both lined with fur, though the weather was

overpoweringly hot. On his head he wore a high conical cap ornamented with fur and jewels. His hair was long, and frizzed at the sides just enough to prevent its hanging too lankly on his shoulders. I spoke to him kindly and cheerfully; but he was too agitated and frightened to recover any possession of himself. After a short interval, I reconducted him to the door, and he departed with a salute of artillery from field-pieces which I had ordered from the fort. At eight o'clock we partook of a grand dinner, to which Mr. Fortescue had invited all the European officers and civilians, with such of their families as were in the neighbourhood.

September 23rd.—I went early in the morning to return the visit of Prince Jehangeer. Our route lay through the city of Allahabad. It is one long street of mud-houses, with every appearance of poverty. About a score of brick-houses of two stories standing here and there, retired some little distance from the street, do not suffice to correct the air of meanness. The prince's residence is within what is here called a garden, that is, a considerable space fenced round, with a few straggling trees in it, but without the slightest attempt at polish. It reminded me of the playground of some of our great schools. The prince occupies a tolerable house in it; and at some little distance there is another for his women. He was a little more composed than he appeared yesterday, but still timid and embarrassed. From his countenance, one might well judge his character. Forwardness and impatience are strongly marked on it, but nothing that indicates real energy. The conversation I addressed to him was calculated to set him at ease; but I suspect that he always thought some austere lecture was coming out. After I got home, I directed that Ahmud Begh should be brought to me from the fort, and he came accordingly under a guard. This was one of the Bundelcund chiefs. He had resisted strenuously our occupation of the province, and had been made prisoner. On giving his parole that he would not attempt anything hostile to the British interest, he had been liberated. Shortly after he collected

a body of troops, raised the standard against us, and endeavoured to excite the province to revolt. Being taken a second time, he was sent hither, and had remained as a state prisoner for nine years within the walls of the fort. The perfect order in which Bundelcund now is, renders it quite unnecessary to retain this wretched man in durance any longer from consideration of security, and in point of punishment he had undergone an ample portion. I therefore sent for him to give him his liberty. I announced this to him, apprizing him at the same time that I had ordered five hundred rupees to be paid to him to defray the expense of his journey to his relations. Though, from my sending for him, he had probably anticipated his freedom, the poor creature was so overcome, that he scarcely attempted an expression of thanks. His agitation was such that the perspiration trickled down his face, and his muslin robe was wet through with it in an instant. It was not till he had quitted my room that he recovered himself, shedding tears plentifully, and using the most extravagant expressions of gratitude. In the middle of the day I held a durbar, at which I conferred a khelaut on Meer Gholam Ali, the vakeel sent by the Vizeer in charge of the elephants, &c. In the afternoon I went to look at a battalion of the 14th Native Infantry, which is in excellent state. We then proceeded to examine the powder-works. They were little worth inspection; but some *adansonias* close to them are curious. As these trees are not natives of India, they have probably been brought by pilgrims, who came to visit Allahabad, replete with objects of veneration, and who planted them in honour of someone of the divinities worshipped here. The largest of these trees is thirty-five feet round. They have no beauty, the branches being scanty and diminutive in proportion to the trunk. It is only the bulk of the latter that can attract attention. The wood is quite spongy. We embarked, after dark, in our vessels at Papamow on the Ganges.

September 24th.—So many of the vessels had got aground in their passage round from the Jumna, that, had the fleet sailed this morning, we must have left behind, in irremediable

distress, several of our party. Nothing but the great quantity of men which could be applied from the fleet to the stranded boats, offered a chance for their relief. Every attention, therefore, was directed to this object. The river, by the official report made to me, has now fallen thirty-nine feet from the highest line which it had attained this year. I went at dawn the northern bank to see Meer Gholam Ali's encampment. Everything is in the most magnificent style. The elephants and horses are of the first quality. All the appointments rich and beautiful. This sumptuous establishment includes even beds, which appear no less luxurious than splendid; so that everything was provided in case of my thinking fit to travel by land. In short, the whole thing is done in a manner becoming a great prince, who wishes to mark a peculiar attention. Gholam Ali appears active and intelligent. I understand he was wonderfully flattered by his khelaut, the conferring of which was no less a compliment to the Vizeer than to Gholam Ali. The crews of our boats make a whimsical appearance. I directed that they should all be indulged, in successive parties, with permission to go and bathe at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges; an observance held of singular efficacy for the purification of a sinner. The bathing, however, is not the whole of the operation. Every person who takes the dip gets his head, whiskers, and eyebrows completely shaven. This business is in the hands of the Brahmins, who make the poor people pay heavily for this smoothing of their persons. The hundred and fifty thousand pilgrims have been known to come to Allahabad in one year, to go through this ceremony; therefore, it may be calculated that these holy barbers have no bad trade of it. The repairing thus to distant places of worship is strongly inculcated by the Brahmins, who thereby play into each other's hands for reciprocal profit. It should have been mentioned that the report of the number of feet which the river has fallen is not made on loose estimate. The bastion of the fortress, which projects into the water, is graduated for the purpose of showing the exact height of the river. Ahmud Begh came down to the landing-place, dressed as became his former rank, to solicit that he might be allowed to follow me

whithersoever I went, desiring to make oath of fidelity on the Koran. I entreated him to hasten to his own connections, and to lose in their society the memory of his sufferings.

September 25th.—We sailed with a strong breeze from the eastward, and ran for about fourteen miles very pleasantly. We then got into a part of the river so full of small banks and shoals, that we could not profit longer by the favourable wind. Six or seven boats were seen stranded at a time, and when one was got off another appeared in the same distress. We were thence obliged to bring-to very early, of a small village called Futtehpoore. It stands on a sort of little promontory, which is not high, but resembles a number of hillocks tumbled together. The resistance of this mound to the river is said to arise from the quantity of conca mixed with the earth, which is thereby rendered firmer. The conca is the species of lime-stone known between this and Calcutta. It never forms a stratum, but is found in detached nodules of rugged appearance, from the size of a pea to that of a lump weighing two or three pounds. Divine service was performed in the *Sonamukhee*.

September 26th.—The shoals made our progress very slow. Boats were getting aground continually. Mr. Ricketts' pinnace struck upon a shoal, and received such damage that he and his family were forced to quit her. Had she floated off into deep water, she would have gone down. Another vessel bilged in straining against the current, and two of her crew were lost. We anchored between Singhoor and Juklanabad.

September 27th.—The breeze was fair; but a collection of thick clouds in the horizon made us anticipate the equinoctial gale. It came on about noon, and blew heavily, with much rain. Luckily, the wind continued in the right quarter. We stopped early in the evening, about two miles short of Churrah, in order to let the scattered vessels rejoin us. In the course of the day I received a petition from the Mahommedans of Allahabad, for an object to which they

had not adverted when I was on the spot. A mosque of rather elegant structure stands on the esplanade beyond the glacis. When we obtained possession of Allahabad, the proprietary right in the mosque was considered as transferred by the former Government to ours; and, from some temporary exigency, the building was filled with stores. These being subsequently removed, much injury, through wantonness or neglect, was suffered by the edifice; and upon some crude suggestion, our Government had directed it to be pulled down. Fortunately, the intervention of other business had caused the completion of this order to be deferred till next month. The Moslems now implored that the building might be regarded as a monument of piety, and be spared. I have ordered that it shall be cleansed and repaired, and then delivered over to the petitioners.

September 28th.—We pursued our voyage as soon as it was light; but a turn in the river gave us a direction which rendered the wind foul. It was blowing fresh, and the water was rough, so that we found great difficulty in tracking. The wind soon increased to so hard a gale that the endeavouring to proceed was out of the question; so we anchored off Churrah. Before we brought-to, a small vessel, incapable of bearing the strain of being dragged against wind and stream, bilged close to our pinnacle and went to pieces instantly. Three of her crew were in extreme danger from being drawn into the sort of whirlpools formed by the current. Two of them would infallibly have been drowned had it not been for the activity of one of our European servants (Mitchell), who happened to be in a row-boat, and hurried to their assistance. The apathy of several of the natives, who were in row-boats much nearer than Mitchell's, was striking, and very painful to one's feelings.

September 29th.—The storm had continued during the best part of the night; but it lulled in the morning. We got up our anchors, tracking slowly. Passing Marrickpore, where there are some picturesque ruins, we took up our station for the night off Nabobgunge.

September 30th.—The Nawab Vizeer's elephants being close to us, I went ashore at daybreak to beat a jungle which was represented as likely to contain a great quantity of game. We went four miles; but on arriving at the place, we found it so destitute of any cover that there was not a chance of finding anything there. The people are strongly deficient in conception of what is requisite towards sporting, though they are often employed in it. We returned to our boats, and made a tolerable day's progress, considering the wind was unfavourable, and we anchored off Nobuster ghaut.

October 1st.—We advanced slowly. I observed on the shore a man who had been brought down to die by the river-side, and who was apparently dead when we passed. The bed-frame on which he had been carried was close to him. He lay under a coarse cloth with his head downward, and close to the water, on so steep a slope as that the posture must soon have put an end to his life. Remarking the circumstance to a gentleman of my suite who had resided long in the country, he told me that he had once witnessed with horror the struggles of a wretched old man, probably in a state of hopeless disease, whose pious relatives were endeavouring to smother him by filling his mouth and nose with the holy mud. A short distance in advance, our attention was attracted by a great number of earthen pots heaped on a kind of altar. On inquiry, we found that they had contained ghee, rice, &c., brought as offerings at the self-immolation of a widow who burned herself with the body of her husband. She was a girl of ten years of age. Her husband was but thirteen when he died. By the Hindoo customs, the girl could not have married again. She would thence have been a burthen to her family, to avoid which they had probably persuaded her to say she would burn herself; and, the profession once made, there is no receding. This miserable child, whose extreme youth could allow her no impulse of real sentiment, was thus subjected to a cruel death from motives of mere convenience. Such are the dreadful consequences which flow from the want of instruction in moral principle among a people peculiarly mild in natural temper! We anchored off Coota.

October 2nd.—Divine service was performed very early on board the *Sonamukhee*. Afterwards we proceeded on our voyage. But we were obliged to anchor off Dalmow, about two in the afternoon, by the coming on of heavy squalls with violent rain.

October 3rd.—No occurrence. Made a moderate advance.

October 4th.—Nothing particular. Gained about eleven miles. At night we reckoned ourselves, by the river, thirty-two miles from Cawnpore.

October 5th.—We attempted to advance by a nullah which has within these few years been made by the floods through the middle of what Reynell lays down as an island of great extent. We proceeded a considerable way, when we found the channel quite blocked up by shoals, probably formed during the late equinoctial gale. Our pilots having passed the strait but a little while before, we were obliged to return, losing, in fact, our whole day's labour. We anchored off Sirajepore, where the ruinous state of several mosques, ghauts, and other public buildings (some of which had been elegant) excited a painful sensation.

October 6th.—We made a moderate day's work, and anchored close to Nudjeeffhur. When I visited Chunarghur, I remarked in the report made to me the name of a person who had been imprisoned there about twenty-two years, in solitary confinement, except for that hour in the day during which he was allowed to walk about under charge of a sentry. All that could be told me was that he had been condemned to death for murder by a court-martial, and that Lord Cornwallis (during his first government) had commuted the punishment into confinement for life. I ordered the proceedings of the court-martial to be sought. It has been found impossible to recover them. And the only record is in the orderly-book at the time, by which the sentence is approved, and so far remitted as that the prisoner, then only fourteen years of age, should be imprisoned for life. It is

evident that there could not be the atrocity of deliberate murder in the case, or Lord Cornwallis would never have dispensed with the capital punishment. So that it is to be inferred the homicide was one of those which, though they came under the construction of murder in law, did not so justly stand within the description as to amount to real crime.

Now, for anything short of premeditated murder, twenty-two years of solitary imprisonment must be regarded as an infliction that ought to be considered as having amply chastened the offence. By being a military prisoner, and thence not brought under the eye of the magistrate, the poor wretch has no doubt been overlooked. I have pardoned him on the ground that his crime must be sufficiently expiated by such a long suffering.

October 7th.—Got forward well, and anchored at night a little above the ghaut of Janjemow.

October 8th.—Landed, and proceeded on horseback, chiefly over a dusty, arid plain, to Cawnpore. The troops of the cantonment were drawn up on the race-course, their usual exercising ground. They consisted of the 24th Light Dragoons, the 5th Native Cavalry, the 67th Regiment, two battalions of native infantry, and a considerable strength of Golandauzes, or native artillerymen. I took up my residence at the house of Mr. Grant, the collector. It is an elegant bungalow, and the grounds around it are laid out with a degree of taste not common in India, where individuals always looking forward to translation to a better post cannot be expected to lay out money on beautifying a precarious possession.

October 9th, Sunday.—Went to the church of the cantonment. It is a simple bungalow of one room, utterly inadequate to the accommodation of the troops, or even that of the officers alone.

October 10th.—A review of two brigades of six-pounders (six guns in each), that I might see how the oxen worked.

The animals exhibited not only great docility and steadiness, but an activity far beyond what I could have expected. The native officers and men conducted their guns with great precision. The Nawab Vizeer arrived this morning in his camp about a mile on the other side of the bridge of boats, which had been thrown over the Ganges to facilitate our communications.

In the afternoon His Excellency sent his son Nusser-oo-Deen to compliment me, and to propose the Nawab Vizeer's waiting upon me the next morning. I prevailed on Nusser-oo-Deen to stay and dine with me. He is a very unaffected, interesting boy about thirteen years of age. Our frank kindness to him appeared to make a strong impression. The Resident, Major Baillie, accompanied him to his father's camp after dinner.

October 11th.—The Nawab Vizeer came to breakfast. I received him with all possible cordiality. His countenance is mild and good; though not betokening energy. The fashion in which he wears his beard, very grey, though he is scarcely more than forty, is singular. It is just in the state that the beard of one of us, in the habit of shaving, would exhibit if left untouched for a week. And this is the case with his upper lip, as well as with the rest. He ate of everything that was offered to him. A number of his brothers attended him, as did also Nusser-oo-Deen, who is his only son. The latter assumed all the freedom of former acquaintance, but with perfect respect and good breeding. I gave to him a beautiful wrought Highland dirk, a present with which he seemed much delighted. The Nawab Vizeer took his leave, and departed amid the salute from field-pieces which I had caused to be brought into Mr. Grant's paddock for the purpose. Another brigade of our guns saluted him on his elephant's entering on the bridge. In the afternoon I went to examine the ordnance-yard. I found it in a state which did the highest credit to Colonel Grace, who superintends the field depot. I had some time ago written to have some howitzers mounted in a particular manner for service in the Nepaul Hill's. It is difficult to convey one's notions accurately in writing, where

one has to describe a thing of which no pattern has previously existed. Colonel Grace had caught my conception so exactly as that I found the carriages of the howitzers precisely what I wished. The gun wheels can be taken from the body of the carriage within one minute, so as that the pieces are severally portable (slung on bamboos) by ordinary porters; the howitzer can be remounted with equal dispatch. These pieces of ordnance must therefore be extraordinarily useful for service in a mountainous country. Its principal advantage is, that it throws the shrapnel-shell of a 12-pounder.

October 12th.—The oracles of established etiquette represented, that were I to return the visit of the Nawab Vizeer the very day after that on which he had come to me, it would be a distinction beyond his relative rank. I was, therefore, obliged to let this day intervene. I employed it in reviewing the 24th Light Dragoons, commanded by Colonel Need. They are 800 strong; and I have had the satisfaction of finding them in the highest state of discipline. Major Baillie informed me that the Nawab Vizeer had taken to himself the dirk which I had given to his son, saying it was too handsome for a boy to wear.

His Excellency had been highly gratified with the manner in which he was received by me.

October 13th.—I set out early to return the visit of the Nawab Vizeer. On crossing the bridge of boats and setting foot on his territory, I was saluted by cannon advanced from his camp for the purpose; and a party of his bodyguard, as well as some shutar sowars (camel-troopers) joined themselves to my escort.

Among the camels were some which carried a swive gun pointed backwards, so that, in covering a retreat, it is fired without interruption to the progress of the camel. The effect must be very uncertain. The camp was straggling and irregular; and no attention appeared to have been paid to order further than the reserving a clear road to the Nawab's tents. His Excellency, encompassed by a prodigious and confused swarm of attendants, met me at some distance from them. We

managed, after the formal salaams, to shake hands off our respective elephants, and then proceeded side by side. A sort of squealing instrument, which sounds very like the two-penny trumpets of children in England, announced the elevated characters which it preceded. Alighting within the court of the tents—a large space encircled by a canvas wall of ten feet in height,—we entered the durbar tent.

There were two rich chairs placed at the end of the room, on a carpet of crimson velvet, finely embroidered. One of the chairs had been purposely made more splendid than the other, and His Excellency obliged me to seat myself in it. All the members of his family were then brought up, as well as the other principal persons of his court, to be presented. I had duly received my lesson as to this ceremonial, in which a most pointed difference is made, according to the rank of the individual—some being met by rising and embracing them; others being suffered to put their foreheads to your knee as you continue sitting, and to be only marked by putting the hand on their shoulder as a kind of inferior embrace; while another class are only to make their obeisance at a distance. Nautch girls were then summoned, who sang for a short time in their usual uninteresting manner. Breakfast was then announced. It was served in a vast tent, and very commodiously disposed. A happy mixture of the English and the Hindostanee taste made the breakfast excellent.

When the Nawab Vizeer breakfasted with me he said he looked up to me as a father. I said laughingly, in return, "Then I am to consider this young man (his son) as my grandson, and, of course, to feel pledged to his support."

Adverting to that speech, Nusser-oo-Deen on the present occasion asked after the health of his grandmother, meaning Lady Loudoun. I answered that he did right in using the expression, for if he had confidence enough in us to claim parental care, he should not be disappointed. This declaration appeared to make a strong impression on those present. After breakfast I desired to speak to the Nawab Vizeer apart. He took me to a retired tent, accompanied by Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Swinton, whom I had desired to be present, as well as Major Baillie. When we were seated I addressed the Nawab

Vizeer at some length on my view of the character which the relation of the two states ought to bear; I explained that the leaving of him perfect freedom of action in his internal administration of his dominions was the principle on which I meant to proceed; I assured him that there was not, on the part of the British Government, the remotest notion of further circumscribing his territories; I professed it to be my wish to attach to his station all the dignity and the authority requisite to give it lustre and influence in the eyes of his family and subjects; and I closed by entreating him to place unbounded reliance in the Resident, Major Baillie, as that gentleman possessed my entire confidence. There were points in this address to which the Nawab Vizeer appeared very sensible. But at the termination there was such a deficiency of any show of gratification that I was much struck with his manner. I ascribed it, however, to Asiatic reserve. His Excellency thanked me politely for my dispositions; expressed his knowledge that the musnud of Oudh must rest wholly on the protection and justice of the British Government; affirmed that he could never have the notion of a discrimination of interests; and said he had looked forward with eager solicitude to this day as the period which would put an end to all the misunderstandings whence the last years of his father had been made unhappy. He added that he had put into writing some points for my consideration, and entreated that I would weigh them favourably. He then put a paper into my hand. As it was in Persian, I delivered it to Mr. Swinton, saying that as soon as a translation should be made, I would peruse it with the most serious attention. Major Baillie could not conceal evident surprise and uneasiness at this occurrence. His bewilderment made him forget himself so far as to take the paper out of Mr. Swinton's hands and to begin to peruse it. I stopped this by observing that it was immaterial to examine the contents of the paper at the moment, as no sudden answer ought to be given on such a subject. Here the conference ended. Returning to the tent, where we had left the company, we found a splendid present of trays of jewels and shawls laid out. I declined them. But I accepted a sword, richly

set with diamonds, which had been made on purpose for me. The expediency of giving the Nawab Vizeer entire confidence in me made it requisite that I should induce him to believe I had taken this gift; though I subsequently in secret lodged with the public secretaries an acknowledgment of its being the sole property of the Honourable Company, and to be delivered to them after I should have gone through the expected ceremony of wearing it at Lucknow. Swords enamelled after the Lucknow fashion were presented to the secretaries and to my aides-de-camp, which I allowed them to take, as it was understood to be a compliment offered by the Nawab Vizeer on his accession to the musnud. We then repaired to the tent in which we had been seated before breakfast. Two fine horses and the noblest elephant I had ever seen were brought to the door for my acceptance. The elephant was of a prodigious size and excellent shape. It carried an ombara (a howdah, covered with an elevated dome and only used by sovereigns) of extraordinary magnificence. These articles were pressed upon me by the Nawab Vizeer with the keenness of urgency, in which his brothers and sirdars earnestly joined. At length by way of enforcing his request, he said one of the horses was the favourite of his father, who had destined it for me. Glad to compound the matter, I said so flattering an attention of the deceased Nawab should not fall to the ground; and that I would take that horse in the hope that the Nawab Vizeer would accept from me as a curiosity a machine for making ice, which I had brought from England. The Nawab Vizeer continued to urge my acceptance of the elephant on account of its extraordinary bulk and its tried steadiness in tiger-hunting; but on that point I remained inflexible. We then separated. A Mr. Clarke, in the service of the Nawab Vizeer by licence from Government, had been recommended to my secretary, Mr. Thomson, as a person whose local knowledge as well as established integrity might render him useful to Mr. Thomson in any of his arrangements for the household while we should be at Lucknow. This gentleman was invited to dine with me to-day, as was also Captain M'Leod, of the Company's Engineers, who had been lent to Saadut Ali to superintend

the construction of some buildings, and had been retained in that employment by the present Nawab. When they arrived at Mr. Thomson's tent before the hour of dinner, by way of something to say, he expressed his satisfaction at thinking that what I had explained to the Nawab Vizeer must have made His Excellency quite happy. To his astonishment, they answered that so far from his being happy, they had left the Nawab in a state of absolute despair. On his asking with much surprise the cause, they told him that the Nawab Vizeer had reckoned on being emancipated from the imperious domination of Major Baillie, under which His Excellency groaned every hour, but that I had professed my confidence in Major Baillie, and had riveted him in his position. Mr. Thomson lost no time in apprizing me of this extraordinary communication, which he justly thought ought not to be withheld from my knowledge. I sent for the two gentlemen separately, and questioned them on the point. It was clear that the Nawab had imparted to them all I had said, for my very expressions were repeated by them, and no attendant of the Nawab's had been present at the conference, so they must have had the information from himself. They concurred exactly in what they stated as his observations on my language. On my declaring that the confidence in Major Baillie, professed by me, was a compliment paid to the Nawab, whom I imagined entertained a peculiar predilection for the Resident, they severally exposed the reasons of the Nawab's disgust. They stated that His Excellency considered the assistance afforded to his tranquil possession of the musnud to have been rendered by the Resident in his official capacity on the part of the British Government; and though His Excellency felt obligation to the instrument still it was not of an amount to counterbalance the grievous dissatisfactions which he daily experienced. He complained that Major Baillie dictated to him in the merest trifles, broke in upon him at his palace without notice, whensoever he (the Resident) had anything to prescribe, fixed his (Major Baillie's) creatures upon His Excellency with large salaries, to be spies upon all his actions; and above all, lowered His Excellency in the eyes of his family and his subjects by the magisterial tone

which he constantly assumed. I asked why the Nawab Vizeer had not unfolded this to me when I pressed him so distinctly to mention what would contribute to his comfort. The reply of each of them was that the Nawab's mind was in a state of such subjugation to Major Baillie that His Excellency did not dare to hint at a dissatisfaction before him. To both I testified my disappointment at finding I had failed in my earnest wish of making the Nawab's situation essentially agreeable as well as ostensibly dignified; but I did not hint at anything I had in contemplation. Here the conversaton ended.

October 14th.—Reviewed His Majesty's 67th Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Huskisson. It was in excellent order. Received a letter from Mr. Clarke, in which he states his having related to the Nawab Vizeer my expressions of surprise at the Nawab's want of frankness towards me, and communicates His Excellency's solicitation that I would indulge him with a private interview when he came to dinner with me next day. Mr. Ricketts was requested to answer this letter; to say that the Nawab should have a conference without Major Baillie's being present; but to desire Mr. Clarke to address any future communications through the regular channel of the public secretaries. In the evening, I visited the school of the 67th Regiment. It was perfectly well conducted; and I learned with great pleasure that several natives were anxious to send their children thither for instruction.

October 15th.—The Nawab Vizeer met me on the review ground soon after it was light. He approached with a prodigious crowd of attendants. A loose mob of spearmen and torch-bearers ran before his elephant; so far from aiming at any regularity, they obviously studied the contrary by frequently running across each other. The appearance of bustle is thereby increased, and this is according to their notions a fit appendage to dignity, nor is that conception quite erroneous, for the confusion seems to multiply the swarm and gives an air of excessive interest in what they are

about. Their clamour was as vehement and as unceasing as their motions. After the interchange of compliments, I stationed the Nawab where he might best see the manœuvres to be executed. The troops were the King's 24th Light Dragoons, the 3rd Native Cavalry, a troop of Horse Artillery, two strong brigades of Foot Artillery, the King's 67th Regiment, two battalions of Native Infantry, and a small battalion of Golandauzes (native artillerymen) acting in the line with small arms. The troops performed very well. After the review, the Nawab came to breakfast with me, bringing several of his brothers and kinsmen. He expressed surprise and gratification at the exhibition which he had just witnessed. We separated early, as he was to come again at 6 o'clock. Pretty punctually at that hour he arrived, when I immediately said aloud that I wished to have a conference with His Excellency; and I observed to Major Bailie, as if from a sudden thought, that it would be more delicate for him not to be present. I took the Nawab into a private room. I requested Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam and Mr. Swinton to accompany us. I explained that these were principal functionaries of the Government, sworn to secrecy, who would have to settle all the details of whatever might be transacted between the Nawab Vizeer and me, and who might therefore as well hear the business in the first instance; adding that my position made it incumbent on me to lay down the rule of never having an interview with any native prince without the presence of one or other of them.

The Nawab said there could be no objection. I asked if he wished to have any of his own suite present, but he declined it. Before I could open any subject to him, he addressed me, and said that as we were engaged in a war which might embarrass our finances, he begged leave to offer a present of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company. This was expected by me. I knew that his father had intended to make this offer, in order to mark his gratitude for my having treated him as a gentleman; though I feel that I did nothing more than was demanded by positive justice. The Resident had given me a hint that the present Nawab, aware of his father's intention, had

mentioned his purpose of carrying it into effect. I thanked the Nawab cordially for this proof of his attachment to our Government; I said that it was impossible for the Company to accept the sum as a gift, but I professed that I should entertain a very high sense of obligation in receiving it as a subscription to the six per cent. loan now opened by the Council. On that footing the matter was agreed. Nothing could be more opportune, for this command of ready cash emancipated the Government from many urgent financial difficulties. I said to the Nawab that his own consciousness of the way in which I must regard so essential a service, rendered to my administration, ought to make him speak to me with perfect confidence. I assured him that I considered it no less my official duty than it was my personal inclination to make his authority efficient, and his private position satisfactory. I thence entreated that he would explain to me without disguise his wishes. Notwithstanding this encouragement he appeared unaccountably reserved. He said there were facts about which he was solicitous, and that he had put them down upon paper, but he had not brought the paper with him. This singular reserve made me begin to doubt if he had really desired the conference. I therefore asked him if he had authorized Mr. Clarke to request this interview for him, and to make it a condition that Major Baillie should not be present. He answered in the affirmative to both points. I then begged that he would take all the advantage he could wish of the opportunity, and I repeated my assurance that he might rely on my solicitude to gratify him. He said again and again that he had deemed it better to commit his wishes to writing, that he would send the paper on the morrow, that he had the firmest reliance on my kindness, and that he referred me for any explanations to Mehdy Ali Khan. After much time thus vainly spent we went to dinner. At length he departed, expressing his impatience to see me at Lucknow, and taking his leave till that meeting should happen.

October 16th, Sunday.—We had divine service and communion at the church.

October 17th.—Reviewed the first battalion of the 10th Native Infantry, which is to be my escort on the march. Its steadiness and accuracy did credit to Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, the very respectable officer who commands it.

October 18th.—Examined chevaux de frise and scaling-ladders made by Colonel Grace, according to suggestions which I communicated to him. They were perfectly well executed. I ordered 2000 yards of the chevaux de frise to be prepared. The Nawab Vizeer having insisted that fourteen of his elephants, with howdahs, should attend me to Lucknow, I distributed them accordingly among the gentlemen of the suite.

October 19th.—Reviewed the 5th Native Cavalry, which I found in very good order. I directed that a detachment of it, equal to a troop, should reinforce my bodyguard for the march along the frontiers. Lieutenant Ward is to command this party, and the regiment is to enlist supernumeraries to the amount of this deduction. In the afternoon I reviewed Captain Haye's crops of Golandauzes. They made an excellent show, both with the field-pieces and small arms.

October 20th.—Our intended march was delayed, the Nawab Vizeer not having made such progress in his route as had been expected.

October 21st.—Marched to Ennow through a sandy uncultivated tract, for the most of the way. Distance, eight miles, six furlongs.

October 22nd.—Marched to Rahimutgunje; twelve miles, five furlongs. The country well tilled and apparently flourishing.

October 23rd.—To Noclgunje, eleven miles, three furlongs; fine country. Divine service.

October 24th.—To Boodleeka Tuckeea, nine miles, two furlongs. This position is within five miles of Lucknow. The whole country, from Cawnpore hither, is a dead flat; but for the most part very rich. The Nawab Vizeer sent his son to meet us on our arrival at our ground, and to stay with us. By our having a double set of tents, one was always sent forward during the night, and was pitched immediately after daybreak. We could therefore offer the young Nawab a comfortable breakfast. He and his attendants expressed themselves much surprised at the regular order in which our camp was laid out, and still more at the tranquillity which reigned in it.

October 25th.—We moved early towards the city. The Nawab Vizeer met me about two miles from it, and descended from his elephant. I quitted mine also; and after embracing him I got with him upon another elephant equipped with a magnificent howdah calculated to carry us both. This was the established etiquette. In this manner we proceeded to the city. The approach to it has nothing striking. Within it has a better appearance than any other town I have seen in India. The wealthier inhabitants were all in their holiday clothes on the flat tops of their houses. The various and lively colours of their shawls had a pleasing effect. I had been apprized that on this public entry I must scatter money to the populace, as the Nawab Vizeer would do it to those on his side of the elephant. A bag containing 1,000 rupees had been prepared for me accordingly; it may easily be conceived what confusion arose in the narrow crowded streets from the scramble occasioned by this silver shower. An ostentatious liberality of this sort is practised on similar occasions by all the Indian sovereigns. The Nawab Vizeer to gain popularity on his accession, made it a practice to throw more or less in this manner among the crowd every day he went abroad. He now finds the inconvenience of having introduced the custom, for the people pursue him with clamours if he forbear to make the expected donation. This is not the only mischief of the habit. It tends to brutalize the lower classes in such a degree that

I would on no account admit the practice in any of our cities. Several of the gentlemen who were towards the rear of our cavalcade told me that they saw shocking instances of ferocity in the attempts of individuals to wrest rupees from those who had been fortunate enough to catch them. Three or four stout young men were beating a helpless old wretch unmercifully with switches to make him yield his prize. A woman to secure a rupee which she had caught put it into her mouth, and a set of fellows were seen to grasp her throat, and squeeze it till the agonies of strangulation forced her to open her jaws. There was something exceedingly striking in the caution of the elephants not to trample upon the people, who were continually thrown down before them. Where they could not otherwise step clear, they would remove the fallen with their trunks. A horse having taken alarm in the crowd, and becoming riotous, the rider fell off, on which the elephant that carried one of my children and the governess, without any apparent direction from its driver, lifted the man by his arm with his trunk, and raised him till he scrambled into his saddle. It is possible that the elephant might have been previously taught the trick; but its readiness of applying its lesson would even in that case be remarkable. As we proceeded, nautch girls in their gaudiest habiliments sang congratulatory verses from the tops of the houses, with which we were generally on a level. Persons every now and then ran to meet us, throwing up into the air a number of live quails; a pretty compliment, as it was understood to mean a liberation of prisoners on the joyful occasion. We were long in reaching the palace, which is at the further extremity of the town. It does not aim at anything splendid, yet the number of courts through which one passes gives it an air of considerable magnificence. Judgment with regard to display was manifest in the stationary elephants in one court; camels with their riders in another; cavalry in a third; and so on, varying the nature of the guard. At the door of the inner court but one we quitted our elephants, as the passage was too narrow for them.

We proceeded in splendid palankeens to the steps which lead up to the sovereign's apartments, whither we ascended.

They are convenient, neat rooms, in the English style, without attempt at grandeur. In one of them which overlooked the Goomty river, there was a musnud, formed like a long European court, raised on a platform of three steps. Both the musnud and the platform were covered with velvet, and the borders of the former were thickly embroidered with pearls, and with precious stones of a secondary rate. The Nawab Vizeer obliged Lady Loudoun and me to occupy the centre places. On each side of us sat the two brothers of the King of Delhi, who reside at Lucknow. The Nawab Vizeer himself was at the extremity of the couch. The brothers of the King of Delhi had come out of the city to meet us, and had accompanied us to the palace, which they never enter as visitors to the Vizeer. Their presence was therefore an attention to the Governor-General. Mirza Sultan Mahommed, a Persian prince of royal lineage, who resides at Lucknow, on a pension from the Company, had similarly come out to meet me, and repaired with us to the palace. He now seated himself on the musnud, at the further extremity from the Nawab Vizeer. The master of the ceremonies exclaimed that it was impossible to allow of his sitting there. Others of the principal people of the Court went up to him and told him his assuming such a station was wholly inadmissible. The poor man attempted to maintain his ground; but they roundly told him that if he did not descend immediately they would drag him from his seat. He then started forward; desired it should be remembered that he had never once since his being at Lucknow condescended to visit the Vizeer, and that his being at that moment in His Excellency's palace was only through his duty of attending on me. He then retired in great indignation. The Nawab Vizeer, through the whole of this scene, preserved the most immovable steadiness of countenance, as if nothing that passed was either seen or heard by him. The kinsmen of the Nawab and principal persons of the Court were then brought up to be presented to me and Lady Loudoun. Breakfast being announced, the Delhi princes took their leave, and the rest of us proceeded under an awning to the banqueting-house. This is a building in the Saracenic taste, light and elegant, without being deficient in richness of ornament, and very

commodious. Tea and coffee, with pillaus, Hindostanee cakes of various kinds, and ices of several sorts, formed an excellent repast. Nautch girls sang during the breakfast. Some of the voices were deemed of the first rate; but my ear is not fashioned as yet to a falsetto imitating exactly the tone of the instrument which accompanies the singer. After breakfast, in our way to our palankeens, trays with jewels and fine shawls were laid out and pressed upon our acceptance. I reminded the Nawab that this ceremony had already been gone through between us, and that we ought now to consider ourselves as too professedly leagued in friendship to give room for this form. On that account, I said with gaiety, I would take his hand instead of his present. This has put a stop to a ceremonial inconvenient to both parties as etiquette would otherwise have required that on every visit that passed between us the person visited should give the expensive present of thirty-one trays to the other. From the palace we went to the Resident's. The gateway of the latter's compound, as the little paddock surrounding the better style of houses is called in India, is not a bow-shot from that of the palace. With the incongruity which attends everything in this country, the ground between the two (except the beaten road) is all in rough ridges and mounds. I have gone into minute observations, because it is from lesser circumstances that the difference of habits and manners is often best exhibited. At the Resident's I held a levee for the civilians and European officers of the subsidiary force. We dined with Major Baillie. The Nawab Vizeer came to dinner, and seemed unaffectedly to relish being with us. At night we proceeded to Constantia, which is to be our residence. It is three miles from the palace.

October 26th.—I went in the morning as soon as it was light to shoot in the Park of Dilkoosha (soother of the heart), according to a solicitation made to me by the Nawab Vizeer. He pays great attention to anything which he regards as having been the wish of his father. The latter, on its being fixed before his decease that I should inhabit Constantia during my stay in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, had a gate made in the wall of Dilkoosha opposite to one out of the Park of

Constantia, that I might have the convenience of sporting in the former. The parks are divided only by a road. That I might be the more at liberty for my exercise, the Nawab Vizeer would not join the party, but sent his dogs. The amusement was but moderate, as I would not comply with his Excellency's entreaty that I should shoot at the deer and antelopes. We brought home a few partridges and pea-fowl. The park is scarcely more than three miles round. It is thickly wooded, with a quantity of reeds and of a coarse grass which rises to the height of seven or eight feet.

The house, built in the English style, stands upon a gentle elevation with some extent of lawn about it. On returning to Constantia I had the opportunity of considering that mansion. It was erected by General Martyn, a native of Lyons in France, who came to India as a private soldier. Having got into the service of Asoph-oo-Dowlah, he distinguished himself by his talents so as to obtain rapid promotion; but his strict accuracy to punctuality in all pecuniary concerns was more beneficial to him. His character in that respect became so established that all the natives who had amassed money and dreaded the rapacious gripe of the sovereign, entrusted their riches to the care of General Martyn. Such amplitude of funds enabled him to take advantage of many favourable opportunities, and to make many advantageous speculations, so that he gathered extraordinary wealth. He expended some of it in erecting this house on a plan entirely his own. The idea of it was probably taken from those castles of pastry which used to adorn desserts in former days. The mansion consisted of three stories gradually diminishing in the size of the square, so as to leave to the two upper stories a broad space between the apartments and the parapet, which covered the wall of the story below it. This was for the purpose of defence, with a view to which the building was constructed. The doors of the principal floor were plated with iron, and each window was protected by an iron gate. Loopholes from passages above gave the means of firing in perfect security upon any persons who should force their way into these lower apartments. The spiral stone staircases were blocked at intervals with iron doors; in short,

the whole was framed for protracted and desperate resistance. The parapets and pinnacles were decorated with a profusion of plaster lions, Grecian gods, and Chinese figures, forming the most whimsical assemblage imaginable. Still, the magnitude of the building, with its cupolas and spires, gave it a certain magnificence. In a vault beneath it is the tomb wherein General Martyn is buried. The figures of four European soldiers resting on their firelocks surround it; and there are lights constantly burning in the room. The general left an estate in trust to defray this expense, and to keep the house in repair for the accommodation of any visitor of rank who might come to Lucknow. There is not much lodging in proportion to the extent of the building, but the state rooms are handsome. The Nawab Vizeer had sent furniture thither from his exuberant magazines, so that we did not find a want of any convenience. The park is only a paddock in which our camp was pitched. The Nawab Vizeer came to breakfast with us and invited us to dine with him the next day.

October 27th.—The Nawab Vizeer sent two carriages of his own invention, drawn by elephants, to be inspected by us. The notion is dignified. The animals draw the carriages perfectly well. The vehicles are very grand, and would make a fine show in those kind of processions for which they are intended. The Nawab Vizeer has a great mechanical turn. The objection to this invention is, that the carriages could not go through the city of Lucknow, or any other Indian town which I have seen, without tearing down many of the frail mansions which border the narrow streets. In the evening, we set out to dine with the Nawab Vizeer. Illuminations were prepared, and they certainly were beyond anything of the kind I have elsewhere witnessed. With a delicate attention lamps had been forbore to be placed within the Park of Constantia; that being considered as too exclusively ours to be meddled with. But as soon as we got out of its gates we saw the whole road towards the palace bordered with posts, on each of which many lights were fixed. As we approached the palace triumphal arches of lamps, raised on bamboo frames, had an elegant and most brilliant appearance. Proceeding further,

we came to a place where, on each side, there were, in transparencies, the representation of a bazaar or market. The costumes of Hindoos and Chinese were strikingly portrayed. Thence we approached a kiosk, or summer-house, decorated with lamps in a manner extraordinarily tasteful. But all this splendour faded in comparison with what opened upon us when we came to a sort of esplanade before the windows of the banqueting-room. It was as large as a middling-sized field in England. The whole of it was laid out to imitate a parterre of flowers. The number of lamps with which the ground was covered for this purpose must have been immense, and the disposition of their various colours, to render the representation accurate, was very happy. We entered the palace at the private apartments, sat on the musnud till dinner was announced, and then repaired to the banqueting-room. The dinner was excellent, but the wine marvellously bad. This might have been expected at the table of a Mussulman host, only it is known that His Excellency had much relish for wine, and used to indulge it freely, till his father exacted from him an oath to leave off drinking it. One may infer from the quality of the liquor at present, that the vow is, rigidly kept. Nautch girls sang in their usual strain during the dinner. When we rose from table, we went to a large kind of balcony which commanded the illuminated parterre above mentioned. Fireworks were then exhibited in profusion. Few of them were equal to what are seen in Europe. It was late before we got back to Constantia.

October 28th.—We went to Moosa Baugh, a villa of the Nawab Vizeer's about seven miles from Lucknow.

October 29th.—We went soon after it was light to meet the Nawab Vizeer at Dilkoosha, where we were to see cheetas run at antelopes. When all this was over, we went to examine the interior of the house. It was very neatly fitted up in the European fashion, with English prints in every room. The Nawab Vizeer returned with us to Constantia, and breakfasted there. Letters from the Council in Calcutta gave us the intelligence of the peace in Europe.

October 30th.—We had divine service at Constantia, attended by several of the officers and ladies of the cantonment. After prayers, Captain Gilbert,* Barrack-Master of Cawnpore, desired to see me. He had been with us at Dilkosha the day before; and I had heard the Nawab Vizeer ask him to breakfast at the palace this morning. Captain Gilbert imagined this to be a compliment on account of his having had much acquaintance with His Excellency before his accession, and after we had returned from the park, he asked if I had any objection to his taking one of my aides-de-camp (Captain M'Ra) with him. This I mention to show how little he could suspect any political purpose had prompted the Nawab's invitation. It suddenly struck me to say to him, "As you are intimate with the Nawab, I wish you would try to find out, without giving him ground to suspect the inquiry to come from me, whom it is he wishes for his physician." I did not explain my motive to Captain Gilbert. It was this: Mr. Clarke, among the Nawab's grievances, had stated Major Baillie's attempt to force upon His Excellency Major Baillie's own physician (Mr. Wilson), instead of Mr. Law who had been physician to His Excellency's father. Major Baillie had, at Moosa Baugh, told me it was the Nawab's wish to have Mr. Wilson nominated his physician, and solicited that I would give my sanction. Doubtful of its being His Excellency's own desire, I answered that I would consider of it. And I thence sought the opportunity of ascertaining the point by means of Captain Gilbert. The latter now informed me that after their breakfast the Nawab had requested to speak to him in a private room. While His Excellency was looking round that apartment, apparently to see that all the doors were safe, and that nobody could overhear, Captain Gilbert, as if it had been the thought of the moment, asked who was the person whom His Excellency wished to have for his physician. The Nawab instantly said, "Dr. Law, to be sure!" and he thence began to complain bitterly of the Resident's attempt to force his own protégé on His Excellency. He proceeded to expatiate with great earnestness on the misbehaviour of Major

* Afterwards Sir W. R. Gilbert, Bart.

Baillie towards him, recapitulating precisely the points which had been mentioned by Mr. Clarke. He said he was in despair at my having said that Major Baillie had my confidence, for that he could never be happy or respectable in the eyes of his subjects while that gentleman should be at Lucknow. He terminated the conversation by saying that he had been most anxious to unbosom himself on these particulars to Captain Gilbert. The latter asked why His Excellency did not speak to me frankly on the subject. His answer was that he was afraid. Captain Gilbert has very justly thought it his duty to communicate to me this singular conversation.

October 31st.—This morning I set out to review the two battalions of the Company's infantry at the cantonment about two miles beyond the bridge over the Goomty. The Nawab Vizeer was to accompany me. When I arrived at the door of the palace, which was in my route, I found His Excellency preparing to get into his carriage. As I was alone in a phaeton, my horses having been sent forward to the field, I proposed to the Nawab to accompany me in that carriage, which he accepted. On the way I said to him that Captain Gilbert had repeated to me what His Excellency had said of his wish to have Mr. Law as his physician, adding that it should be so arranged. He clasped my hand eagerly, and said that he had no comfort but in my kindness. The review went off very well. His Excellency and I returned in the same howdah to the Residency, where we breakfasted. In the afternoon, I went with Lady Loudoun to see the Imaum Bareh. It is a truly magnificent and elegant building, consisting of two quadrangles, on one side of the interior of which stands a mosque, a really noble fabric. The principal hall of the building contains the tomb of Asoph-oo-Dowlah. It is a grave of earth sodded, the pavement being in that part interrupted for the purpose. A canopy of cloth of gold, embroidered with verses of the Koran, in black silk, covers it. This canopy is supported by elevated gilt pillars. Festoons of fragrant flowers are suspended from it, and little pots of incense are burning around. Bands of priests, which relieve each other at stated periods, chant day and night

passages of the Koran at the head of the grave. Everything is in the highest order, though it must be difficult to keep the place clean, from the multitude of pigeons which haunt it, and which I understand are to be on no account disturbed. Both Mussulmans and Hindoos attach a character of sanctity to any animals which take up their abode near places deemed sacred. The Nawab Vizeer came to dinner with us at the Residency, and appeared much gratified by our having been to visit the Imaum Bareh. In consequence of what Captain Gilbert had told me, I had sent Mr. Ricketts to the Nawab this morning to entreat that His Excellency would impart his wishes to me frankly, as our Government could have no object more at heart than to make him comfortable. I desired His Excellency to understand that secret and indirect representations did not suit the station of either of us; and I desired Mr. Ricketts to inform him I would give His Excellency the opportunity this evening of unbosoming himself before the three secretaries, but without the presence of Major Baillie. The Nawab eagerly recapitulated to Mr. Ricketts all that he had said to Captain Gilbert; and when Mr. Ricketts was retiring, stopped him to whisper, "Cannot you get Major Baillie removed from Lucknow?" Before dinner I requested Major Baillie to stay with Lady Loudoun, while I took the Nawab and the three secretaries into another room. As soon as the door was shut the Nawab pulled out paper and delivered it to Mr. Ricketts, saying that it was the second paper which he had promised, but which he had delayed sending. He said it contained a statement of all his wishes, except upon one point which yet interested him. Then he complained with great apparent sensibility of Major Baillie's preventing him from having the nobut (large drum) beat at sunrise, because the noise of it would disturb the Resident. He added that the beating the nobut was an article of dignity; and represented that he was lowered by not being allowed to do it. I said the point of the nobut should be settled directly according to his wishes, and that his paper should be considered without delay. We then repaired to dinner.

November 1st.—I received the Delhi princes at breakfast.

They wore the high Tartar fur-cap instead of the turban. Their manners were without polish, but respectful. After their departure, Mr. Adam came to me, and communicated a most extraordinary message which he had just received. Agha Meer, a favourite servant of His Excellency's, came from the Nawab to say that His Excellency had passed a sleepless night from reflection on what had passed the evening before, and that His Excellency had in consequence sent him (Agha Meer) to set the matter to rights. Agha Meer proceeded to say that the Nawab Vizeer disavowed every article in the paper delivered by him last night, and desired it to be understood that he had been overpersuaded by Mr. Clarke, who had written the paper, to submit it as his own sentiment. The paper was a long enumeration of grievances suffered from Major Baillie. Mr. Adam asked Agha Meer how it was possible for Mr. Clarke to have prevailed on the Nawab to take such a step in contradiction to His Excellency's own disposition. Agha Meer answered that the Nawab accounted for it by Mr. Clarke's having asserted to him that the Governor-General had a dislike to Major Baillie, and would be gratified by His Excellency's furnishing a pretext for that gentleman's removal. The Nawab, according to Agha Meer, added that Mr. Clarke, Captain Macleod, and Dr. Law had pressed this opinion upon him before my arrival at Cawnpore. This cannot be true. Had the Nawab been influenced to take this step against his own inclination, with the notion of doing what would have been pleasing to me, he would have made the charge roundly before the secretaries, so as to have afforded me ground at Cawnpore to have dismissed Major Baillie from his situation. After my warning him that indirect communications could not be attended to by me, he would never have sought a conference with Captain Gilbert as a mode of effecting my purpose. It is evident that the Nawab addressed himself to Captain Gilbert because the latter had married a cousin of Lady Loudoun's, who had come out with her; His Excellency probably thinking that if he could gain upon Captain Gilbert's feelings the representation would be made to me in a manner more likely to be effectual than through any formal channel. Besides, he would have left the

statements made by him to Mr. Ricketts to be worked upon by my judgment; and would not have closed his discourse by endeavouring to prevail on that gentleman personally to co-operate towards Major Baillie's removal. I am glad that I have minuted these particulars, as they exhibit strikingly the little managements of an Asiatic Court.

November 2nd.—I sent for Mr. Clarke and Captain Macleod. I told them that I judged it necessary to apprise them of what had been advanced by the Nawab Vizeer. They persisted with the strongest asseverations is maintaining that the complaints against Major Baillie had originated with the Nawab himself; that he had repeatedly pressed the subject upon them; that his reiterated reference to them had led them to take part so far as to advise him to state his grievances to me personally; but that they had in no degree instigated the indisposition of the Nawab toward Major Baillie. They both earnestly petitioned me to sit formally in the character of Governor-General in Council and receive their depositions on oath in the presence of the Nawab as to the falsity of his assertions. Mr. Clarke desired to swear that the paper in question was not of his writing, composition, or counselling. Both urged for permission to swear to the falsity of the assertion that either of them had ever told the Nawab Vizeer I was indisposed towards the Resident, a fact which they had never imagined. Though I felt it would be just to let them record this expurgatory affidavit, it was a proceeding incompatible with the delicacy to be observed with regard to a sovereign. Therefore I told them that I believed their declaration as firmly as I could do were it confirmed by oath; explaining to them the impossibility of my admitting any public proceeding which could so distinctly arraign the Nawab Vizeer of a wilful falsehood. I desired them to put upon paper a statement of what had occurred to them severally with His Excellency on this subject; and requested Mr. Ricketts to do the same. We had, in honour of the peace, a grand dinner, ball, and illumination at Constantia. The Nawab was present.

November 3rd.—I directed Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and

Mr. Swinton to go from me to the Nawab Vizeer, with a solicitation that he will confidentially explain to them his real wishes, as I am so perplexed amid the strange circumstances which have occurred, that it is impossible for me to feel secure in my judgment of them. When they sent to request an audience, the Nawab, on pretence of indisposition, begged it might be put off till the morrow. The object of this delay is probably to consult on what steps he should take if they pressed him to an honest disclosure of his sentiments. Dr. Law came to me to profess, offering to verify it on oath, that there was not a word of truth in the Nawab's charge, that he (Dr. Law) had systematically endeavoured to inflame His Excellency against Major Baillie, and had insinuated that it would be pleasing to me to have accusations advanced against the Resident.

He told me that the Nawab had sent to reclaim not only an elephant, furnished to Dr. Law, as physician, but a one-horse chaise which the late Nawab had given to Mr. Law, and a portrait of himself, given by Saadut Ali to the doctor. Went in the afternoon to see the Hazree Baugh, a small country-house of the Nawab's, at the back of Dilkoosha Park. It is very neat, standing in the midst of thick wood, on an elevation, with the front cleared so as to afford an extensive view of the cultivated plain on both sides of the Goomty.

November 4th.—Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton waited on the Nawab Vizeer. He insisted that all his complaints had been made because Mr. Clarke, Captain Macleod, and Dr. Law had induced him to believe it would be a procedure by which he would recommend himself to my favour. He declared that so far from any estrangement with regard to Major Baillie, he felt warmly grateful for that gentleman's friendship, and desired nothing so much as his continuance at Lucknow.

The conference lasted nearly three hours, during which time the Nawab persevered in maintaining stoutly that Mr. Clarke, Captain Macleod, and Dr. Law, to whom His Excellency now added Monsieur De l'Etaing, had been long engaged in a conspiracy to ruin Major Baillie in his esteem;

and though they had not effected their purpose, they had misled him (the Nawab) to criminate the Resident. His Excellency said that Dr. Law had never been his physician, even during the lifetime of Saadut Ali; he said that to satisfy his father he used to consult Dr. Law when he was ill, but that he never followed Dr. Law's prescriptions, and always obtained medicines privately from Mr. Wilson. This tallies so ill with what passed in the phæton that it cannot be true. For some time past the Nawab had been urged to appoint a minister for public affairs, and another for finance; much inconvenience having arisen from the want of these officers. The Nawab had answered that as his brother Shums-oo-Dowlah had been minister in the father's time, he (the present Nawab) wished to appoint his son to the honorary station. He added that as his son was still a child, it would be necessary to have a deputy who would be the efficient minister; and he begged me to choose the person for that purpose. I answered that I was highly sensible of the confidence reposed in me by the request, but that I could not possibly interfere in an arrangement which was so much to influence his comfort and welfare, further than to say that it would be inconvenient were he to nominate a person whom the Resident represented as systematically adverse to the British Government, as was the case with Mehdy Ali Khan. Mr. Adam revived the subject this day, and the Nawab promised to settle the business. Before the gentlemen broke up the conference they, according to my instructions, adjured the Nawab in the most impressive manner to say whether any one had used my name, so as to occasion His Excellency's message by Agha Meer. He repeatedly declared that my name had not been so used. The question referred to a communication which Captain Macleod had made to me the day before yesterday. He said he had been secretly informed that Agha Meer, the morning after the conference at the Residency, had gone to the Nawab Vizeer and told him, with great apparent anxiety, that His Excellency had ruined himself with me; that I was furious at his having complained against Major Baillie; and that I even talked of removing him from the musnud. It was stated that the Nawab, in his terror, asked

what he could do to remedy the mischief, and was told that the only way was to disavow his paper, and impute his conduct to the machinations and suggestions of Mr. Clarke, Captain Macleod, and Dr. Law. The known devotion of Agha Meer to Major Baillie gave the story some verisimilitude.

November 5th.—We breakfasted with the Nawab. When that was over, I went to my palankeen, to return the visit of the Delhi princes. They live separately, and in very modest habitations. The visits went off very pleasantly for that kind of ceremony. I had been able to make for the princes an arrangement which freed them from some galling pecuniary difficulties, and they were very grateful. They gave attar, with their own hands, to my aides-de-camp—an attention which they had never shown in any instance before. They are tenacious in the extreme of their dignity, and the Nawab Vizeer cannot approach them without presenting a nuzzur. In the middle of the day I had a durbar at the Residency. It was much crowded. Several of the chiefs from the northern frontier claimed the right of presenting swords. Had I reserved to myself these tributes I should have a well-stocked armoury, but they are all delivered over to the Company. The Nawab Shudar-oo-Dowlah, at above ninety years of age, had come more than one hundred miles to pay his compliments. I was informed of it before the durbar, and directed that he should not be let to stand in the crowd, but should be seated in an inner room. I went thither, sat beside him, and spoke to him with cheerful familiarity. The old man appeared touched with that kind of reception. I surprised agreeably one of the Affghan chiefs at the durbar. I had learned that his daughter had been betrothed to another chief, called Roostum Khan, but that the marriage had been delayed by Roostum Khan's having been arrested, by our Government, for secret machinations against it, and kept in confinement for the last six years. I told the Affghan chief that, as a compliment to his respectability and conduct, I would liberate Roostum Khan; only requesting that he (the Affghan) would counsel Roostum Khan as to his future behaviour. The man was wonderfully pleased. The exigencies of

Government have rendered it unavoidable, in particular circumstances, to make state prisoners in this way. But this evil in the measure has not been sufficiently guarded against, that, as prisoners of this description are not within the cognizance of the magistrates, so as that Government shall be periodically reminded of them, the individuals are sometimes kept in custody after the considerations which required their detention no longer exist. We dined with the Nawab Vizeer. At the dessert a space was cleared opposite to the part of the table where the Nawab sat, between me and Lady Loudoun. A gang of buffoons were introduced, who began by imitating the cries of different animals; they then took off the singing and airs of the most distinguished nautch girls; but what seemed to give the greatest delight to the company was a man who represented a Bengalee, and got a prodigious number of slaps in the face for various acts of stupidity. The caricaturing the poor inhabitant of Bengal as a fool seemed to tickle the fancy of the Nawab Vizeer and all his kinsmen, no less than it excited the glee of all the up-country servants who were attending behind our chairs. When we rose from table, we went to the balcony, to see an illumination and fireworks. They were different from what had been displayed on the former night, and the whole was very splendid. Captain Macleod, Mr. Law, Mr. Clarke, and Monsieur De l'Etaing had been at the breakfast, in the morning, but were not invited to dinner.

November 6th.—We had divine service at Constantia, which was numerously attended by the ladies and officers from the cantonments. Captain Macleod asked for a private audience. He told me that he, Mr. Law, Mr. Clarke, and Monsieur De l'Etaing had received their formal dismissal from the Nawab's service. He said that although the Nawab had forced upon him and Mr. Clarke, and possibly on Mr. Law, the task of listening to His Excellency's complaints against the Resident, he was satisfied the Nawab had never extended a similar confidence to Monsieur De l'Etaing. Adding that he thought it but justice towards a French *émigré*, about to be exposed to great distress, to declare upon his honour that he

had never spoken to Monsieur De l'Etaing on the subject, and that he was convinced Monsieur De l'Etaing was utterly unsuspecting of any such questions being in agitation. Captain Macleod proceeded to tell me, that the Hakeem Mehdy Ali Khan had called upon him, and desired that he (the Hakeem), might be confronted by me with the Nawab Vizeer; in which case he and two other persons who had been present when Agha Meer addressed his master, would testify that Agha Meer frightened the Nawab into the recantation of the charges against Major Baillie, by asserting my indignation at them in the manner recorded by me on a former day. I answered that I could well believe it; but that I could not degrade the Vizeer by examining his own attendants to disprove what he had chosen to maintain perseveringly to the three public secretaries. I represented that it was not a case in which I was to act as judge; for the employment of Captain Macleod and the other gentlemen by the Nawab was wholly a private transaction, and it was altogether at His Excellency's pleasure to say at any moment he had no further occasion for their services. Relatively to our own Government, I admitted their claim to be protected against any imputation which might be unjustly advanced, on which account, I said, I should put on record my conviction that there was some unaccountable inaccuracy in the Nawab's statement. Major Baillie came to me in the afternoon. It was to apprise me that a negotiation respecting Shums-oo-Dowlah had been settled agreeably to my wishes; Shums-oo-Dowlah, next brother to the Nawab Vizeer, had been minister and commander of the troops during the later years of Saadut Ali's life; there was an apprehension, I believe without the slightest foundation, that he might make the hopeless attempt of disputing the succession with his elder brother. This suspicion, and perhaps a dissatisfaction at the greater degree of favour experienced from Saadut Ali by Shums-oo-Dowlah, had deeply indisposed the present Nawab against the latter. His Excellency was therefore solicitous that Shums-oo-Dowlah should not reside at Lucknow, and the brother was far from adverse to removal. The Nawab requested that I would constrain his brother to live elsewhere. I answered that if

I interfered in the affair it could only be on the terms of trying to make the measure acceptable to Shums-oo-Dowlah; towards which it would be necessary for His Excellency to grant an allowance so liberal as to counterbalance the advantages Shums-oo-Dowlah would forego by quitting Lucknow. The arrangement this day notified to me is, that Shums-oo-Dowlah shall have a house and chace belonging to the Vizeer near Benares, with an allowance of two lacs of rupees yearly. This is certainly very handsome. I took occasion to express my surprise to Major Baillie that M. De l'Etaing who had been solicited by the Nawab to relinquish an advantageous office in the Company's stud, should be implicated in His Excellency's displeasure; stating that I could not conceive it likely for M. De l'Etaing to have had the slightest communication with the other gentlemen on the subject. Major Baillie answered he was persuaded M. De l'Etaing was not in the least involved in the business; "neither," said he "does His Excellency expect it; but I believe the Nawab regrets the expense of having brought him hither, and is glad to take the opportunity of getting rid of him." The avowal is very curious; M. De l'Etaing has not been here six weeks, is a man of exemplary character and most polished manners, and is moreover highly qualified for superintending a stud (the function he was to discharge here), having held such an office under Louis XVI in France. Luckily I can reinstate the poor man in the appointment he held in our stud. The Resident apprized me that the Nawab would the next morning send to me the arrangement of the ministry which was to be; his son as naib, or ostensible prime minister, Roy Dya Crishen, as peshcar or deputy, to be the real minister, and Agha Meer as dewan or minister of finance. The claims of Agha Meer, who had never in any discussions been adverted to as of a calibre for such advancement, surprised me much. He is a law man, who began as khidmutgar or footman to the Nawab, and waited behind his son's chair when the latter dined with me at Cawnpore. I did not express my wonder, only observing I could feel no right to interfere, unless the person contemplated by the Nawab were of known hostility to the British Government.

November 7th.—I went to shoot in the Park of Dilkoosha, and brought home some partridges. On my return I was met by the painful news that Major-General Gillespie had been killed in an unsuccessful assault of the fortress of Kalunga. That he should have made so rash an attack is astonishing. The mischief which had occurred from inconsiderate attempts to storm places by no means calculated to be carried in that manner, had made me insert as an article in the instructions to each of the generals commanding divisions, a special prohibition against that species of attack upon any works which should be of a quality to require artillery for their reduction. When Colonel Mawby was to be detached against Kalunga, Major-General Gillespie was directed by me to enforce upon Colonel Mawby's mind a strict attention to the above injunction. I received from Major-General Gillespie an answer, saying that he had impressed strongly on Colonel Mawby the caution dictated by me. Colonel Mawby, in consequence, on reconnoitering the place forebore to assault it, and reported to Major-General Gillespie that he meant to establish batteries against it as he conceived it was impracticable to carry it by storm. The Major-General, on this quitted his own column, repaired to the camp before Kalunga, and on examining the fortress resolved to assault it. The result was the only one that could be rationally expected. The discredit to our arms, and the baneful influence which this reverse must have upon future operations, are light disadvantages in comparison to the loss of Major-General Gillespie. Whatsoever was the indiscretion of this last step it cannot detract from the credit due to the many important services achieved by his heroic valour. His zeal, his energy and his resources rendered him infinitely material for the conduct of operations in a country the features of which are so novel to officers unaccustomed to the plains of Hindostan. Genius like his would soon have fashioned others to a just conception of the system to be pursued in mountain warfare; and, deprived of him, I fear they will have to poke out their way amid many errors and oversights before they attain such experience as may give them due confidence in themselves. In the afternoon the Nawab Vizeer

sent three rhinoceroses for our inspection. Two were females of middle growth. The third was quite young. They appeared tame and gentle.

November 8th.—This day, to my great surprise, Major Baillie informed me that the Nawab Vizeer had determined to make Agha Meer peshcar, and that Roy Dya Crishen was to be dewan. Of course, Agha Meer is to be the effective minister for the guidance of all affairs. I could only say that, on principles already professed by me, I could have nothing to do with the Nawab's choice. It is impossible to see this arrangement and not to discover that the elevation of Agha Meer is the reward of the influence exerted by him over the Nawab Vizeer to produce those recantations which I have detailed. It is not my business to develop this intrigue; if the power which Major Baillie possesses over the Vizeer's mind, aided by the co-operation of Agha Meer, be exerted beneficially for the furtherance of public affairs, I can have no call to make objections. The interest of the individuals who have been immediately sacrificed in this juggle can be attended to by me hereafter. I believed that some sort of intimidation is the practice used with the Vizeer. He does not seem deficient in intellect, but he appears weak in nerve. I had observed that the bridge over the Goomty, though a handsome structure originally, was in a sad state of decay; and I had expressed my surprise that the Nawab Vizeer did not repair it before the damage should be beyond remedy. I was told that His Excellency had a firm persuasion that his repairing the bridge, or his suffering any of his family or servants to do it, would infallibly occasion His Excellency's death within the year. The edifice, therefore, equally an ornament and a convenience to the city, will perish through this strange misapprehension.

November 9th.—I received from the Nawab Vizeer a solicitation that I would be present next morning at a durbar, for the ceremony of investing his son and the subordinate ministers with the insignia of their offices. We dined at the Resident's to meet the Nawab Vizeer. On the occasion of my

last dining at the palace I had praised highly some pillau; I was told it had been dressed by the Nawab Cossim Ali (nephew of Saadut Ali), who sat opposite to me. He seemed very well pleased with my approbation of his cookery. In consequence, he sent to the Resident's two dishes of pillau, and two of curry, on which he said he had exerted his utmost skill for the gratification of my palate. They were certainly excellent. Several kinds of pickles which he sent as a present to me the other day were no less admirable; but his taste may be exposed to some question from his making sweet conserves of turnips and candying radishes. Were he a wine-drinker he would be a good counterpart of Falstaff. His bulk and his cheeriness of disposition remind me forcibly of the fat knight.

November 10th.—We breakfasted at the palace. When we rose from table, we proceeded to the durbar chamber, and took our seats. Shums-oo-Dowlah was introduced to take his formal leave. The Nawab Vizeer, without rising, put on his head a gaudy turban, after which the other parts of the khelaut, or dress of ceremony, were put upon him by the attendants. The Nawab's son was then introduced as naib. His Excellency insisted that he should receive from me the turban, and the other emblems of office. Among them I furnished him with a money-bag, an elephant iron, and a small pair of kettle-drums, which were to be suspended round his neck. They implied his title to use the nobut. Agha Meer and Roy Dya Crishen were then brought forward, and at the Nawab's entreaty I invested them also. The durbar being dissolved, we quitted the palace, and went to see the temporary tomb of Saadut Ali. A superb monument is about to be erected over his remains, but in the meantime, they are distinguished with the utmost magnificence. The body was interred in the middle of a garden; a temporary building of wood, elegant in form and richly japanned and gilt, is raised over the grave. Within the edifice a canopy of cloth of gold overhangs the sodded receptacle of the corpse. A large tiger of green glass (made in England) stood on each side of the frame that supported the canopy, and at the head were two

large fishes of the same material. The fish is in India an emblem of sovereignty; attendants with chowries kept of the flies from the wreaths of fragrant flowers which decorated the pillars of the canopy; and several religious persons were employed in chanting verses of the Koran. When we came to our farewell dinner at the palace, the Vizeer thanked me in earnest terms for this attention to the memory of his father, saying that my kindness had soothed Saadut Ali's latter days. This was a very curious expression; for my kindness to Saadut Ali had been only my rejection of a system of coercion towards him, publicly urged by Major Baillie, and so far acted upon before my arrival in India, that Mr. Clarke asserted the Nawab Vizeer to have described it as having broken his father's heart. After dinner, at which Cossim Ali's talents had been again felicitously displayed, the buffoons were introduced; they went through their former exhibition, Bengalee and all, without the slightest variation; yet this uniformity did not seem to diminish the interest which the native part of the company took in the representation. After this comedy a man played upon the bheen. The instrument has not much compass, or much melody, to my ear. But the man sang to it in a manner which made the whole of the performance very pleasing. Lady Loudoun had made to the Nawab Vizeer, to his son, and to a little brother whom His Excellency had adopted as a son, some presents curious to them, but of no intrinsic value. The Nawab grounded on this an attempt to obtain her acceptance of some magnificent jewels; but they were sturdily declined. We adjourned to another department where the formal leave-taking ensued. Wreaths of an uncommonly light silvery tinsel were put by the Vizeer over the neck of every European guest. We then embraced and separated. The young prime minister, from his frequent intercourse, had adopted great confidence in us, and he let us into a secret worth recording as characteristic of manners. The little brother of the Nawab's, mentioned above (a son of Saadut Ali by one of the women of the zenana), is quite a child, but is titular head of the judicial tribunal. He was sent with the Nawab's son, according to the etiquette, to the Resident's house to escort us to dinner. Lady Loudoun

not being quite dressed, I made them sit down with me till she should be ready. Unfortunately the chief justice fell asleep. The Mentor who had accompanied him immediately roused him in spite of my entreaties, and took him out of the room. I concluded he had led the young dignitary into the verandah for the sake of air, as his somnolency might well be ascribed to the heat; and I was confirmed in my supposition when I shortly after saw the boy return and resume his chair with infinite gravity. The true state of the case, however, was confidentially unfolded to us by Nussor-oo-Deen, who told us his uncle had been conducted into another room and whipped for so gross a breach of ceremonious observances. Captain Gilbert, who had been one of the company at dinner, accompanied us to Constantia, and recounted to me an extraordinary phrase used by the Vizeer. The distribution of the wreaths produced an irregularity which left His Excellency more unobserved than was usually the case. He went up to Captain Gilbert, and taking the latter's hand pressed it to his heart; saying, "Notwithstanding all you have seen happen, my friendship shall never be divorced from you; as I hope I shall prove to you in happier times." The Captain represents him as having said this with a look of peculiar distress. As to all public matters, he had been put into a situation of comfort and dignity beyond his fondest hopes; therefore, an expression which implied the present time to be not a happy one must have had allusion to his sense of prostration before some secret and inexplicable influence galling to his mind.

November 11th.—Marched from Constantia; forded the Goomty, and encamped just beyond the cantonment of the Lucknow subsidiary force. In crossing the river the quick observation of an elephant manifested itself. A camel was leading the way. Finding the water deepen considerably, the camel, which does not swim, refused to go forward; and some contest took place between the animal and its rider from this obstinacy. An elephant, which was following, was brought forward on the camel's being removed from the place; but neither coaxing nor chastisement could induce

him to proceed in the line where he had seen the camel struggling. This must have arisen from his supposing that the bustle had been occasioned by the camel's getting its leg into some quicksand; for the elephant swims well, and willingly where there is sufficient water; and this elephant went on without solicitation when they had taken him some thirty or forty yards up the stream, though he had there to traverse a channel of greater depth. The Persian Prince, Mirza Sooltaun Mahomed Suffuree, accompanied us to the camp. He had asked leave to do this, that his being marked with such a favour might counteract the effects of his having been forced to descend from his seat on the Vizeer's musnud. I had before invited him to breakfast one morning at Constantia, which I omitted to mention in its proper place.

November 12th.—Marched to Mohona, fourteen miles. The country fine and well cultivated.

November 13th.—The camp was in alarm all last night, from the quantity of thieves who had slidden into it. They are stark naked, so that creeping along the ground they are scarcely to be perceived; and they are oiled all over, in order that it may be difficult to hold them, should they be seized. They crawl with infinite patience to a tent, slit the side with a knife, and then either enter or carry off whatsoever they may be able to reach with their arm, as circumstances tempt them. Many petty depredations were thus committed. Not one of the thieves was caught. But indeed the night was very dark, and it is only in such that these fellows make their attempts. Marched to Bacree, twelve miles. Divine service.

November 14th.—Last night a poor woman, who had put her little kettle on a fire where many others were cooking, returned for it when she thought the meat was dressed. Seeing some bustle round the fire, she feared to take her child into the crowd; therefore she sat it, with its back against a tree, not forty yards from the fire. She had not got half way to the fire, when the screams of her child made her run back, and she had the anguish of seeing a wolf carry it off.

This was actually within the camp, and the sun had not been set above an hour. There must of course have been much cunning, as well as boldness, exhibited by the animal. Halted this day at Peernuggur, after a march of fourteen miles.

November 15th.—Marched to Seetapore, sixteen miles-and-a-half. We left the city of Kyrabad on our right, about a mile short of our encampment at this station. In the evening, I reviewed the 1st battalion of the 15th Native Regiment, a fine corps.

November 16th.—Reached Mahowdy, after a march of nearly sixteen miles. The tehsildar is nephew to Mehdy Ali Khan, who is entrusted with the superintendence of this district, though he resides at Lucknow. He met us as we approached the town, and wished to present me with some fine Persian greyhounds. I excused myself from accepting them, by pleading the number which the Nawab Vizeer had lent to me. He also produced, as a present to my son, a light carriage drawn by two nylghaws. As the animals appeared remarkably fine, and had, moreover, silver ornaments about them, I conceived the present must be of intrinsic value, and therefore declined it. The nylghaws appeared very tractable, and drew the carriage with great rapidity. The bit to which the reins were attached was passed through the cartilage of the nostrils, as is done with all the draught oxen in this country.

November 17th.—After a march of fourteen miles-and-a-half we forded the Goomty, and encamped on its left bank.

November 14th to 18th.—Much thieving had continued in the camp. Last night, the servant of an officer was carrying a basket of linen to his master's tent, when a villain cut him across the arm with a large knife, and on the poor fellow dropping the basket, seized it, and carried it clear off, notwithstanding the alarm immediately given. We marched to Mahendy, eleven-and-a-half miles; a curious circumstance occurred. One of the gentlemen of my suite,

who was riding at some distance on the flank of the line of march, was tempted to take a nearer view of a small town still farther from the road. Perceiving, on his approach to it, a man whose dress indicated him to be of the better class, he addressed himself to that person for the name of the place. The man having satisfied the inquiry said that the British had heavily disappointed the expectations of all the inhabitants in that district. He said it had been understood that our Government meant to take possession of the territories of Oude, and that I was come up for the purpose; but that they had now been apprized of my having confirmed the Nawab's authority. The English gentleman (who spoke the Hindostanee language perfectly) asked him, with some surprise, whether it had indeed been the wish of the people to see their country transferred to foreign rule. The man laughed and answered, "To be sure it was our wish. Can you think us such fools as not to desire to have our estates, and the earnings of our industry secure? We must always be exposed to the cupidity of a native sovereign; but we know that the British, either from a spirit of justice, or from policy, always leave individuals in the enjoyment of their property."

November 19th.—After a march of twelve-and-a-half miles, we halted at Powain, the first town in the Company's territories. The Vizeer's country from Lucknow hither is rich in point of soil, and is in general well cultivated; indeed, I should rate it higher in both respects than some of ours to the south-east. On this frontier, however, there was a most striking difference between the state of the lands, and the apparent comfort of the inhabitants in the two districts decidedly in favour of ours.

November 20th.—Halted at Powain, and had divine service.

November 21st.—Marched something above fourteen miles to Bimrowlee. A wolf crossed the line of march without showing any alarm, and without any attempt to disquiet it being made by the natives close to where it

passed. It went into a field of sugar-cane, whence it could not have been driven by the elephants without their doing great mischief to the crop.

November 22nd.—Marched thirteen miles to Bissulpore.

November 23rd.—Reached Gujnerah. It should have been mentioned that we re-crossed the Goomty on the 18th, before we reached Mahowdy.

November 24th.—Reached Bareilly after a march of fifteen miles. On the approach to this, as well as to every other considerable town I have seen in this country, one is struck with the number of public buildings gone to complete ruin. It has been occasioned by oppressive Governments which took no care of edifices productive of no revenue, and left no means to individuals who might have been disposed to keep up what they probably considered as ornaments in their country.

November 25th.—I had a levee for the European gentlemen : Sir Edward Colebrooke, commissioner; Mr. Hawkins, judge of circuit; Mr. Dumbleton, magistrate, Mr. Low, collector; Mr. Moore, secretary to the commissioners, were the principal civilians. In the afternoon I went to look at the city. The Jumma Musjeed, a mosque as we term it, is the only building worthy notice. It has been a handsome edifice, but is falling fast to decay. The minarets have been rather elegantly ornamented with enamelled tiles. They have dropped out in many places, so as that the pattern of the roof is spoiled. The position of the building is bad, being in a narrow street. We were told this was owing to the intolerance of the Moslems, who would not be satisfied with raising their musjeed anywhere but on the site of the chief Hindoo temple.

November 26th.—I had a durbar for the principal inhabitants of the town. On inquiring about their last harvest, I learned that the price of gram in Bareilly was

less than the value of an English shilling for an English quarter. It was purchaseable by the pound at that rate. Gram is a species of tare; universally preferred here to oats for horses, and forming no bad food for man when dressed with ghee or curry-powder.

November 27th.—We had divine service, numerous attended by the civilians, officers, and wives of both classes. Two years had elapsed since they had last the opportunity of attending public worship. The extent of this country, and the remoteness of stations from each other, escape the comprehension of people at home, so that the insufficiency of the present establishment of chaplains is never suspected. In the afternoon, we drove about the environs of the city. It was lamentable to see the handsome tomb of Hafiz Rukmut already in a state of progressive dilapidation. He was a kinsman to Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla chief, and general of his armies. The gallant and elevated character of the man deserved that his monument should be more durable.

November 28th.—Marched to Futtehgunje, crossing the Dojoor by a bridge, and encamped on the ground upon which the Rohilla army formed before it advanced to attack Sir Robert Abercromby. There is a small elevation of ground in this part which commands the portion of the plain where Sir Robert's army was encamped. This advantageous spot had been rather unaccountably neglected, and the enemy judiciously occupied it with their cannon. The benefit to be derived from this position for their artillery was sacrificed to a premature charge of cavalry, which, though at first it succeeded so far as to threaten total defeat, was utterly repulsed.

When the guns were no longer covered by the enemy's cavalry, they were speedily taken by our infantry, and the Rohillas fled in confusion. On the little hill, a monument is erected to the memory of those officers of ours who fell on the occasion and were buried there; and close to it is a tomb after the Mahomedan fashion, over the bodies of

Fyzoolla Khan and such of his officers as were slain in the conflict.

November 29th.—Crossed by a ford the Dojoora river, and encamped at Meergunje.

November 30th.—Reached Kumora Dumora, in the State of the Nawab of Rampore.

December 1st.—As this chief of the Rohillas had come to visit me when I was at Bareilly, I thought it would not be civil to pass within four or five miles of his residence without calling upon him; I, therefore, this day left the column to pursue its course, and I turned off for the city of Rampore. The Nawab, with a very large retinue of elephants and horsemen, met us about three miles from the city. After having paid his compliments, he begged that we would advance gently, so that he might get back to his palace before our arrival, and be in readiness to receive me. The land close to Rampore appears strangely neglected, though other parts of the territory are in high cultivation. A tall hedge of the thorny bamboo surrounds the town, and forms an impenetrable fence. The streets are narrow and tortuous beyond the usual amount of that defect in Indian towns, and the houses are very poor. The palace has no show, and seems much neglected. Having got through the double gateway, I found the Nawab waiting afoot in the court. He obliged me to walk upon fine silk across that court; and, when we reached the next, pieces of gold or silver brocade were spread till I reached a splendid chair prepared for me in the hall of audience. This magnificence contrasted singularly with the want of other decorations in the apartments. When I was seated, his kinsmen and principal officers were presented: the articles were very valuable, particularly some jewels destined for Lady Loudoun. There were two swords, by much the handsomest and of the best taste I have seen in India. When I perseveringly declined the present, on the ground that I had accepted the trays which he offered at Bareilly and that Lady Loudoun never took anything of

intrinsic value, he pressed the swords upon me most importunately, appealing to his minister whether they had not been mounted on purpose for me; but as the hilts and scabbards of both were set with precious stones I was inflexible in declining them. I said that to show him my refusal did not proceed from any motive but my having already accepted a present from him (which I could not tell him would be sold on account of the Company), I would take one article; and I fixed upon a pair of warm stockings from Cashmere. I am glad I made that choice, for it gave me the opportunity of observing that they are made of a sort of felt. The material looks like the South American vicuña's wool. Probably it is from some kind of goat. On taking leave of the Nawab, he begged very hard that he might be allowed to send to my tent the chair on which I had been sitting; as likewise 1,000 rupees for my servants. Here was a new contest, which was at last compromised by my allowing the servants to receive the usual boon of the brocades and silks on which I had stepped. Forging the Cossilah river, which we skirted immediately after coming out of the city, I reached my camp on its western bank. We were now in the Zillah of Moradabad; and the gentlemen of that station met me here. Mr. Oldham, the magistrate; Mr. Chalmer, the registrar; Mr. Batson, the collector; Mr. Rutherford, Commissary-General's department; Mr. Ker, appointed one of the judges of the Suddur. Dewan Dowlut, also came; and Mr. Colin Shakespear, collector of Meerut, likewise joined us. Sir E. Colebrooke, Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Moore had accompanied us from Bareilly.

December 2nd.—We reached Moradabad, fording the Ramgunga close under the town. We had previously crossed another branch of the river about two miles off. In the rainy season, the whole interjacent tract is a sheet of water; now it is covered with a most promising growth of wheat. On approaching the branch close to the city, we were much struck with the appearance of three round towers, one of them very perfect, in the middle of the stream. Various conjectures were entertained as to the use of these singular buildings, till

the solution was afforded us by the magistrate. These were the linings of wells, and when the river, gradually wearing the elevated bank on which Moradabad is situated, effected its present channel, those buildings from their shape and depth of foundation remained undestroyed, though all the edifices which the water could sap had disappeared. The top of one of these apparent towers was now just on a level with the top of the bank about one hundred and fifty yards from it, all the earth that had formerly existed between having been washed away. In moving towards our camp, which was beyond the town, we had to observe the peculiar structure of the latter. It was in four divisions; each walled with its own gates, and separated by a space which reminded me of the road from Kingston to Hampton Court, between Bushey and Hampton Court Parks. We encamped in a beautiful grove of mango-trees, from which we looked over a vast unbroken extent of plain, exhibiting quite an oceanic appearance.

December 4th.—Heavy rain fell in the night. Its consequences were very gratifying. The air though dry had been to a certain degree hazy. It now became perfectly clear, and gave us a most interesting view of the summits of the Himalaya Mountains towering above the elevated ridges of Camaron. The latter, consisting of three, and in some places four ranges, rising one above the other, would be elsewhere considered as very high; but they shrink to insignificance in comparison with the splendid peaks behind them. The Himalaya Mountains, separating Tartary from Hindostan, are probably the highest in the world. There is something no less picturesque than sublime in the forms of those regions of eternal snow when seen from this position. We had divine service.

December 5th.—We went out this morning to have a view of the snowy mountains from different points. It is a spectacle so sublime that the eye never tires of it. The servants whom we had brought with us from Calcutta could not be made to comprehend the nature of what they gazed at.

They had seen iced cream, and they could not separate the notion of art from the snow when an attempt was made to explain what they looked at by referring to their acquaintance with ice. When one thought them convinced, they uniformly returned to the question how it was done. A Bengal draftsman who accompanied us was directed to make a coloured sketch of the scenery, and he resented as an imposition on his understanding an endeavour to persuade him that the white pinnacles were not clouds. In the middle of the day I had a durbar to receive some Rohilla chiefs, some vakeels, and a good many of the principal inhabitants of Moradabad. The having been introduced at a durbar stamps gentility with these people as much as the being presented at Court does with us; therefore the holding of a durbar for them is felt as a particular compliment, and surely it is incumbent that their feelings should be consulted when the gratification of them exacts nothing but an immaterial degree of trouble. Regret that I did not minute in the proper places the visits of some chiefs whose names I may wish to remember makes me revert to those days in order to insert part of the list here. At Bissulpore I received the Nawab of Furruckabad, Shoohud Jung, and his brother, Nusrut Jung. They are both young boys, of amiable countenance and good address. Their guardian, Moonshy Khoda Buksh, was with them. He said that the life of a man at his age was precarious, on which account he wished I would let the young Nawab offer a petition. The latter then advanced, said he could have no security but in the British protection, and begged I would consider him as a child of mine. I assured him of the vigilance of Government over his welfare. His kinsmen, Ashruf Ali Khan, Imdaud Hoseyn Khan, Himmutee Ali Khan, Imaum-oo-Deen, Boo Ali Khan, Wullee Oolla Khan Bahadur, and Sheer Ali Khan, were then presented.

These Patans are stout, frank-looking men, with much martial air. They did not maintain the cold reserve usual among the Mussulmans, but cheerfully expressed their satisfaction at being received with an appearance of kindness. Saadi Ali Khan and Hukeem Gholam Ali Hoseyn Khan, deputed to compliment me by the Nawab of Rampore, were also

introduced. At Bareilly I received Ahmud Ali Khan, Nawab of Rampore. He was accompanied by his two uncles, Cossim Ali Khan and Kurreem Oolla Khan; also by the following kinsmen, Neyaz Ali Khan, Saadut Ali Khan, Mozuffur Ali Khan, Jaafer Ali Khan, Inayut Ali Khan, Iband Oolla Khan, Abdul Ali Khan, Ahmud Yar Khan, Fulsuh Oolla Khan, Ahmed Oolla Khan, Keramez Oolla Khan, and Ali Ahmed Khan.

This was on the 24th of November. On the following day I received a set, who appeared to me to have been not desirous of mixing with the others. They were the sons of Hafiz Rukmut Khan; *viz.*, Nawab Mahomed Yar Khan, Nawab Ali Yar Khan, Nawab Omer Khan, and Nawab Mustajaul Khan, with a number of young men, their sons. All these Rohillas were well dressed, and were good-looking men in general; but they did not show the animated confidence of the Patans. Their retinue, however, was composed of fine men well-appointed. Many inhabitants of the city of Bareilly attended as did likewise the vakeel of Nawab Bumboo Khan, with Deasan Jowahir Laul, Foujdar Motee Ram, and Chowdry Dya Sunkur, vakeels from the Rajah of Bhurtpore. This present day I have received Nawab Ayoob Khan, grandson of Hafiz Rukmut, with two of his cousins, Rajah Laul Sing, representative of the family expelled from the Government of Kemaon by the Gorkhas; and many principal people of this vicinity. In addition to these, there were vakeels from Surfuranze Muhul, mother of the Nawab of Furruckabad, from Dya Ram, of Hattrass, from Bughwunt Sing, from Bukht Sing, near Adjeghur, and a fresh one from Bumboo Khan. This latter personage is a son of the late Zabita Khan, and brother to the Cholam Khadir who put out the eyes of the King of Delhi.

December 6th.—Continued at Moradabad. Nothing particular occurred.

December 7th.—The slow progress of a deputation from the King of Delhi detained us inconveniently here. It would be ungracious to give such individuals as are sent on this

occasion the additional trouble of following me further. Besides, a deputation from the King is so extraordinary a circumstance, that it is well it should be witnessed by the inhabitants of a large city. We went through the different parts of the town. It has been handsome without magnificence. It had fallen into a state of sad decay and desertion; but under our Government, the population and opulence of the city are retrieving themselves rapidly. The people looked comfortable, and were highly respectful.

December 8th.—We went to the Cutcherry, or Sessions House, that from the flat roof of that elevated building we might see the first rays of the rising sun strike on the summits of the snow ridge. The sight was truly grand. The snow, illuminated by the beams, looked exquisitely brilliant. There was an odd sensation in contemplating a spot on the globe where the foot of man had never trod, or was ever likely to be planted. This immense barrier would seem sufficient to limit the concerns of India; yet at this moment I am speculating on the trade which may be carried on beyond it, should the present war with the Gorkhas leave us in possession of Kemaon. From that province there are valleys between the hills which afford passage of not much difficulty, and greatly frequented, into Tartary. The holding of Kemaon would give to us the exclusive purchase of the shawl wool, to be paid for in cutlery, broad-cloth, and grain.

December 9th.—Heavy rain.

December 10th.—The rain, which had continued through the morning, cleared up in the afternoon. The superstition of the people gives me all the credit for this rain, which is most useful to them. "*Faire la pluie et le beau temps*" is not metaphorically applied by them to the Governor-General.

The deputation from Delhi arrived this day, and encamped close to us.

December 11th.—I this day received the deputation. It

consisted of the following persons :—Nawab Azeem-oo-Dowlah Mohummed Meer Khan, Dewan of the Queen Momtaj Muhul, and reckoned the ablest of the council; Nawab Shums-oo-Dowlah Bukhshee Mirza Mahomood Khan, Commander of the Household Cavalry; Nawab Shahbauze Khan Chugta, Vakeel of the King with the Resident; Nawab Cootb-oo-Dowlah Kootb-oo-Deen Khan, of high family, and one of the principal courtiers; Mirza Kanjeh Kuddur Nant, assistant to the Nazir of the King; Nawab Rooku-oo-Dowlah Roshun-oo-Deen Khan, late Commander of the Cavalry, and now Head Physician; Dubeer-oo-Dowlah Khanjeh Fursud-oo-Deen Ahmed, Aumeen of the Royal Household; and Rajah Juc Seekh Roy, assistant to the Aumeen. The above are principal officers of State, and out of compliment to them, or out of curiosity, a number of the most distinguished courtiers had spontaneously joined the deputation. They were as follows :—Nawab Mobarek-oo-Dowlah; Mirza Hassan-oo-Deen Hyder Khan, a person of distinguished family; Meer Mohammud Khan, a confidential officer of the Queen's; Ameer-oo-Dowlah Nuwazish Khan, nephew of the Prime Minister; Nawab Pururish Khan, Meer Bonhain Ali Khan, brother of the last; Meer Zulfar Ali Khan, son of the preceding; Meer Hyder Ali Khan, an officer of Queen Momtaj Muhul's household : Cooar Narrain Doss, son of Rajah Sree Mull, and nephew of Rajah Seikh Roy; Rao Shedhoo Ram, Peshcar (or deputy) of the High Treasurer; Hakeem Hassan Buksh Khan, and Hukeem Sadi Ali Khan, Physicians to the King; Hafez Abool Mowee Yad Khan, an individual of marked station.

They were all splendid in retinue and dress; and it was impossible not to observe in their air and manners the tone of highly-polished society. They presented their nuzzurs separately, and then were requested to take chairs. When they were seated, the head of the deputation made me a compliment on the part of the king, to which the due answer was made. Conversation succeeded. Then Azeem-oo-Dowlah requested that he might deliver to one of my attendants for me a sword which the king entreated me to accept. His Majesty desired that I should be told that it was the

sword which Aurungezebe used to wear, and that he should have thought it sinful to let it go out of his family to any person but to me. This mode of presenting the sword, of putting it into the care of an attendant, was a delicacy of attention, lest the delivering it directly to myself should imply that the king sent me a weapon to be used in his defence.

The compliment was altogether well imagined, as the sword is to be prized from the circumstance of its having belonged to Aurungezebe, while it had no intrinsic value. It is a simple tulwar, the hilt of which is only of silver and brass. From two Persian lines engraven on the blade, and which have all the air of antiquity. I have no doubt but that the sword really was Aurungzebe's. I invested every member of the deputation with a rich khelaut. Many natives unconnected with the deputation were present. Among them were these :—Rajah Unroodh Sing, of Bullunghur; Coom Ranj Sing, his grand-uncle, and administrator of the territory during the Raja's minority; Coom Bughwunt Sing, the Rajah's uncle; Nawab Fyze Mohammud Khan, son of the late Najabut Ali Khan, chief of Kanoor, &c.; Nawab Ahmed Buksh Khan, of Feerozpoor; Mirza Futteh Oola Beg Khan, his nephew; Nawab Fyz Oolla Beg Khan, of Husseea; his sons, Gholam Nukshbund Khan, and Gholam Morteza Khan; Nawab Mortesa Khan, of Peloul; his sons, Mustapha Khan, and Wullee Mohammed Khan; Bukshee Bhowany Sunkur, chief of Nujufghur; his sons, Jehangeer Chund and Jyesookle Roy, with his son-in-law, Kishen Chund; Rao Kesree Sing, claimant of the Gudda of Rewarry; Nawab Abbas Kooli Khan, nephew of the late Vizier of Cabul; Rajah Keywul Nyne, vakeel from Scindiah; Nawab Urfaa-oo-Dowlah, vakeel of the Rana Keedut Sing, Roy Dala Kam, vakeel of the Rajah of Jodepore; Iumeent Sing, vakeel from Runjeet Sing to the Resident at Delhi; Lala Bhool Chund, vakeel of the Rajah of Keytuh; Ruttun Chund, vakeel of the Rajah of Banswara; Rajah Puddun Sing, vakeel of the Rao Rajah (of Macherry), and Urgan Sing, vakeel of Juswunt Singh, the Sikh chief of Nubba.

These apparently unmeaning lists are not useless to record; for individuals in this country start up so suddenly

to power and celebrity, that it is interesting to preserve some clue by which one's memory may be aided in retracing the appearance of the person. The Patan chiefs present on this occasion were a fine martial set of men, and their attendants were as sturdy-looking fellows as I have ever seen.

The ceremony of this day is not of an indifferent nature. After the durbar had broken up, Dr. Hare (my physician) got into conversation with some of the Patan chieftains who were walking about the camp, his fluent command of the language enabling him to address them without difficulty. Though nothing appeared to lead to the remark, they told him they had been talking about what they had just seen, adding that they were very glad to have witnessed it. "We know now," said they, "to whom we belong. We thought the British were only appointed to take care of this territory for a time; but we now see that the British Government is our sovereign." This impression of the legitimacy and permanence of our rule is far from immaterial. Divine service in the afternoon.

December 12th.—I gave to the deputation their audience of leave; and we parted in a very good-humoured manner.

December 13th.—Quitted Moradabad, recrossing the Ramgunga at the part of the town opposite from that at which we had intended, and steering our course towards the mountains. A vast tract of barren sand shows the extent to which the Ramgunga in the rainy season overflows the country, and proves that no fertilizing mud is suspended in its water. Indeed, we had here noticed with gratification a clear stream. All the rivers which one sees in the lower country are turbid. Halted at Bojipore.

December 14th.—Reached Balawala. Large herds of antelopes were seen on both sides of the line of march, but they appeared very shy. We had four or five flights of hawks after paddy-birds (a species of small heron), which were not amiss. The paddy-bird is very skilful at dodging in the

air. Bumboo Khan visited me here. He is a son of Zabeta Khan, and had the province of Hurreeanah conferred on him for his services with Lord Lake. Unable to maintain himself there against the predatory hordes, he solicited permission to exchange that Jagheer for a pension, upon which he now lives in much state in this neighbourhood. His figure must formerly have been fine; but he now appears enervated and stupified, probably with the use of opium.

December 15th.—Halted at Kasheepoor, rather three separate hamlets than a town, though it is a considerable mart in the commerce with the hills. We were now so near them that it was requisite to keep cavalry patrols going all night to the edge of the forest, as a security against attempts from the Gorkhas.

December 16th.—A little before the hour at which the march of the camp was to begin, the sporting party mounted the elephants, and we advanced towards the hills in search of a tiger of which we had notice. The ground over which we passed was a plain destitute of trees, which runs like a bay into the forest nearly to the foot of the hills. We did not see a tiger, though we hit upon the footing of two. We followed the tracks above a couple of hours, and could perceive by the prints that the animals must be but a very short way before us. The tall wiry grass with which the plain was covered would conceal a tiger from our view at a very little distance, while it was so thinned as to afford him no obstruction in getting away. We sacrificed our sport at deer, which were plenty, in this unavailing pursuit. Giving up at length, we struck through the skirts of the forest for about seven miles to reach our new encampment at Jusspore. We saw a large lynx in our way, as also one of a smaller sort. Both of these escaped, but we killed some deer and pea-fowl. We had been so near to the hills as to see distinctly the passes, which did not appear to me so difficult as they are represented.

December 17th.—We reached Affzulghur.

December 20th.—Marched to Nugeenah. Our course was now parallel to the hills. The scenery was very fine, though the peaks of the snow-ridge are not seen so well here as at Moradabad. We are too close under the nearer ranges.

December 21st.—We, the sporting party, quitted the line of march to penetrate a little into the forest, in hopes of finding plenty of game. In that respect, we were disappointed, unless as to the smaller sorts. We got a quantity of hares and partridges, with three or four floricans, also some jungle-fowls. But we saw no deer or bears, which we had been taught to expect. There were monkeys in great numbers. At them, however, we did not shoot. We got about the middle of the day to our camp, having been strangely delayed in the forest by ravines, extraordinarily difficult to pass. That feature made a marked difference between this part of the forest and that which was seen near Kasheepoor. In other respects, they are similar. The trees of bad kind, and bad of the kind, standing wide from each other, with a brushwood easily traversed in every direction. Our camp was between the town of Nujeebabad and the deserted fort of Putturghur. The latter is a very large square, within which Nujeeb Khan, who built it, meant to establish a city, to be peopled from the existing town of Nujeebabad. By his judicious encouragement of commerce, he had made this spot a considerable emporium of trade; and he wished to give it security. The irruptions of Nadir Shah, and the consequent troubles of Hindostan, destroyed his speculations. The fort was besieged by Nadir Shah who soon called off his troops to more important objects. It strikes me that this place might be repaired at little expense, and might be made an excellent station for a light corps.

December 22nd.—We went through the town of Najeebabad. It retained marks of having been once the seat of activity and enterprise. Our halting place was Asophgurb. There is a fort here with handsome gateways and in good condition. But no human creature lives here. After the fortress had been built and a town established,

the spot proved so dreadfully unhealthy that it was of necessity abandoned. We did not like the resting here even for a few hours. But the quantity of water required for our numerous train often obliges us to take up ground in other respects objectionable. Travellers, moreover, dislike this place, from the extraordinary vigilance they are forced to observe in driving away the wild elephants, who otherwise seduce the tamed ones to go off with them.

December 23rd.—We started before dawn to get some shooting, while our camp should be passing the Ganges. The whole country round Asophgurh is a series of reed-beds, divided by patches of higher soil, on which amid trees and long grass, one expects to find game of the larger class. In the reed-beds we found numberless places where it was evident wild elephants had been just lying; and it is extraordinary how dexterously they must have managed to have got off without being perceived. We did not see one the whole day. I have shot a woodcock, of a kind new to me, and I think not mentioned by ornithologists. The English in these parts call it the solitary snipe, from having heard of such a bird in Europe. But this kind differs wholly from the snipe distinguished by that name, except as to size, in which they are nearly alike. The legs are green. Its flight is exactly that of a woodcock. I understand it is always found in the reed-beds adjoining to woods. I shot a hind of the large red deer species with one of a smaller kind, and a quantity of inferior game. We did not, however, find any beasts of prey; indeed we had good proof that (although you may stumble upon one by chance in the midst of your shooting) there is no reckoning upon finding these beasts but by proceeding silently, and sacrificing other objects to them. We this day repeatedly came on the tracks of tigers, which were obviously making off from us, in consequence of our repeated firing. I remarked this day, as I had done yesterday, how singularly the line of the forest is defined on the plain. It appears as if it had been planted regularly. No dotting trees or thickets connect it with the open ground. When our sport was over, we crossed the Ganges. It is

divided by a large island into two streams, each of them magnificent. The water is deep, brilliantly limpid, and the current strong; with a bottom of large round pebbles, which made the footing apparently unsteady for our elephants. The care they take in balancing themselves is admirable. We found our camp pitched at Boajpore, a little village about a mile from the ford.

December 24th.—The spot on which our camp stood was devoid of feature, and the first portion of this day's march was through a dull, ill-cultivated flat. As we approached Hurdwar, however, groves and flourishing hamlets presented themselves. It is very remarkable that there is not any alteration of ground to indicate approximation to the mountains. In all other countries which now occur to my recollection, minor hills rise in succession before you come to a principal range. Here the mountains start abruptly from the plain, and with such steep acclivity, that they are to be ascended at particular passes. The village, or rather open town of Kunkul, about two miles from Hurdwar, was the first testimony to the expenditure of riches in this neighbourhood. A number of handsome buildings bespeak the opulence of the owners. It was gratifying to learn that almost all of them had been erected since the territory came under our dominion; the security for enjoyment of them being the inducement to this application of money. Many of the mansions were elegant in architecture, but there was scarcely one which was not disfigured by wretched paintings of tigers or elephants, or with mythological representations of just such a rate of art as one would see on the most paltry pot-house in England. Hurdwar lies so much behind an elbow of the hill that one sees little of it in approaching by this road. A view of the town, however, is easily dispensed with, amid the other beauties which present themselves, on your emerging from some of the tufts of mango-trees and gaining a sudden sight of the valley through which the Ganges runs between the hills. The scenery is glorious. The nearer mountains are abrupt, woody, and various in form. The remoter ranges look austere and imposing. The river,

divided at this season into several channels, has nothing immediately striking; but it is impossible not to perceive at once how vast a bed it fills in the time of its plentitude, and the mind recognises the worshipped stream. Our own tents were pitched on a narrow flat between the hill and the nearest channel of the river, just at the entrance of the town. Other parts of the camp were on a ledge of the hill or on an island, beyond the fordable channel. We went to see the famous bathing ghaut. The building is a large mass of freestone, far from inelegant in notion, but squeezed together from the narrowness of the space between the mountain and the water. We ascended by a very broad and high flight of steps to the flat roof of a sort of tower, whence there is a fine view of the river. This was not the season for the periodical bathing of devotees, who at those periods flock thither in such numbers that the concourse is estimated at above one million. We saw nothing but some of the charitable residents feeding the sanctified fish which, secure from injury, came in large shoals, and individually great in size, to the steps to receive their accustomed meal. Our followers, indeed, soon hastened to wash away all sins in the sacred water, and underwent the shaving, for which the Brahmins exact a heavy remuneration. We also saw the sale of Ganges water in very light, thin green bottles made here for the purpose. The Brahmins vend this consecrated lymph very dear to pilgrims, who are coming in uninterrupted succession from all parts of India to procure it, in order to wash with it the representatives of their deities. We were well acquainted with these migratory parties, of whom we had passed in our road multitudes either advancing or returning. They are not more distinguishable by the particular basket which they carry at each end of a pliant bamboo than by the singular salutation with which they greet all who approach them. A round and vehement intonation of Bum Bahadur addressed to all travellers is infinitely meritorious in their conception; and when one happens to meet a string of these good folks the peal has a very whimsical effect. One perceives the policy of the Brahmins in enjoining these pilgrimages to the extremities of the

territory as a duty imperative on everyone who professes to fulfil the articles of his faith. Uniformity of superstition is kept up by this intercourse between the remotest quarters; and the devotee receives at these distant points of his veneration a revived impression which rivets the influence of his own local Brahmin over him.

December 25th.—We had divine service and communion. There was something singular in keeping our Christmas-day in the very headquarters of the Brahminical mysteries. I ordered comfortable dinners for the bodyguard, as well as for our servants, and I sent a thousand rupees to the Brahmins at the ghauts. In the afternoon we visited the Chand Pahar (or Moon Mountain), on the other side of the river; a small muth, or temple, is visible on the top of it from Hurdwar; but the eye is still more attracted by an English flag, which an old priestess hoists in token of the protection she receives from the Government. After she had alone officiated at the altar for several years, some of the Fakeers learnt that she got a good deal of money from those who visited the spot, either out of curiosity or devotion, and they forcibly deposed her. She complained to the British magistrate of the district, who justly considered her right of preoccupation as entitling her to the advantages of the situation, and replaced her in it, furnishing her with a written order to all the native police-officers to see her redressed in case of future intrusion. We passed four or five minor streams of the river on our elephants. The further and main channel was not fordable. We crossed it in a boat so frail and leaky that I was not without my apprehensions it might have gone to pieces in the middle of the river. The ascent begins immediately from the eastern bank. It is a very steep and narrow path, and the gaining the summit is really a laborious effort. The view did not so well repay the toil as I expected. The course of the river in the plain afforded no picture. To the eastward, a higher range of hill rose close upon you, and barred all prospect. Hurdwar was brought too much beneath us, and rendered too indistinct by our height to display much feature; and haze obscured the valley towards the snowy

mountains, now hidden from us through our proximity to the intervening ranges. I gave the old woman a present, and added a confirmation of her title to hold the station of officiating priestess. She has a daughter whom she destines to be her successor.

December 26th.—We set out very early in the morning for an excursion up the valley, meaning to make it a shooting party as well as a reconnoitring expedition. Though we had not heard of any tigers, we were in hopes of finding some, from one having been killed in an island of the Ganges by a party of our gentlemen on the 24th. They had quitted the line of march to beat an island they had remarked as affording strong cover. Immediately on entering it, they roused a tiger, which attacked them directly. Some of their elephants not being steady, the party were thrown into confusion by the charge, and three of the elephants were much torn by the tiger before he was killed. He was uncommonly large and strong. A gentleman who was mounted on a bulky elephant, assured me that it was nearly pulled to the ground by the tiger, who had fixed his claws in the elephant's ears. The road from Hurdwar up the valley runs along the face of the hill, and soon becomes so narrow and precipitous that, although an elephant would probably pass it with perfect security, the feeling of the rider would not be quite comfortable. We therefore undertook to ford the first channel of the river in order to recross it when we should have got so high as where a cross valley runs at the back of the hill. To effect this, we advanced nearly to the bathing ghauts, and then went into the river by descending some stone steps. The dexterity of the elephant in going down these stairs was really curious. They went slanting, so as to gain sufficient breadth on the step for their foot, and though they proceeded with great caution, trying, as it were, whether their balance was firm, they showed no hesitation. Having got to the end of the island, or rather bare bed of large pebbles, which we had first gained, we had to traverse a stream that divided us from another island. This passage was rendered difficult by the great force of

the water which rushed over a natural mound or weir of stones. This embarrassment the elephants encountered and surmounted with great confidence, though the slipperiness of the large stones under water was evidently very troublesome to them.

From this second island we soon regained the main, and found ourselves amid very picturesque scenery. Our progress was chiefly through a forest, the trees standing wide from each other, and with little underwood; amid which every now and then there was a cultivated spot with five or six peasants' huts grouped together. From these openings we had varied views of the woody hills around, the more striking to us from our long subjection to the uniformity of the flat country. We advanced thus up the western bank of the river for three or four miles. Several deer and pea-fowl were killed; likewise one of the woodcocks. We then crossed into a large island covered with high trees and thick grass. Unluckily, on our first entering it, we found several deer, and continued to drive them before us, frequently getting shots. Had we come to previous consultation, we should have resolved not to fire at anything but a tiger in a place so likely to be the haunt of one. About the middle of the island some elephants began to pipe in a way that assured us that they had come upon a scent. We pushed on to the end of the island, but found only a quantity of monkeys, who had been fearful of committing themselves to the rapidity of the stream. On the sand we perceived the track of a very large tiger. The footsteps were so fresh that where he had gone into the water the print was not yet washed away by the current. Agreeing to follow him, we settled not to fire at other game. We beat the thick wood of the next island closely, but fruitlessly. At the end of it we found by his traces that he still kept ahead of us. Pursuing him thus, we marked for at least three hours, but never got sight of him. We were not in the meantime blind to the beauties of the valley. It is indeed extraordinarily romantic; and even at this season the Ganges is here a grand river; there were four principal channels, with communications, which separated the interjacent island. The eastern channel was

not fordable. Everywhere the volume of water was considerable. On returning, the elephants mounted the stone steps with as much facility as they had descended them.

December 27th.—Marched to Dowlutpore. The direction was westerly, slanting from the hills. The march was marked by nothing but the sharpness of the cold. At sunrise Fahrenheit's thermometer was at 24°. Some of our sepoys were much astonished at the ice they found upon the pools or tanks.

December 28th.—Reached Secundrapoor; it has been a flourishing place, and still contains a considerable number of inhabitants. This country has not yet had time to retrieve itself after the repeated devastations it underwent in former governments.

December 29th.—Reached Saharunpoor. On the approach one is struck by the odd contrast between the neatness and show of our recent establishments and the dilapidation of all older structures. Mr. Grindall, the magistrate, and Mr. Forrester, the registrar, had met us at Hurdwar. Mr. Colin Shakespear, the collector, received us here. In the immediate vicinity of this place the ground is bare and broken with water channels, but at a little distance there is good cultivation.

December 30th.—We went to examine the fort: it is ill-situated, being nearly commanded by the jail, a strong building which, with some other enclosures protected by thick earth-banks, would be immediately seized by an enemy. The fort, however, if repaired, might be made very useful as an advanced magazine. I have therefore ordered the defences to be put in such a state as to secure it against the assault of desultory invaders. The expense of putting it into this condition can be but trifling. I then inspected the hospitals, in which there were a number of wounded from Kalunga and Jeytuk. I imagine the native troops have been unaccustomed to this kind of attention, for the poor fellows

expressed their sense of it in glowing terms. I likewise examined into the treatment of the wounded Gorkha prisoners. They spoke as if they felt deeply the humanity shown to them. Their countenances are absolutely Chinese, only on a larger scale. In the middle of the day I had a durbar. The principal persons introduced were Ahmed Khan and his son Khajeh Mohammad Khan, the first uncle and the second cousin to the late Nawab Nizabut Ali Khan; and Cooar Nulla Sing, son of Rajah Nyne Sing, Shah Sabu Buksh, with several of his relations, descendants of a peer or holy man, from whom they hold a rent-free estate in the district; Rajah Khooshal Sing, an infant of two years old, brought by his guardian Khoolass Roy, to receive a khelaut of investiture on succeeding to the possessions of his father, Rajah Ram Dial Sing, lately deceased. There were many of inferior notes. In the evening I examined the Company's garden. The object of retaining the spot in that form was that the various trees and plants of the hill country might be brought down to it; whence if they thrive they might be forwarded to the garden at Agra, and so successively into Bengal. Little attention has been paid towards carrying into effect this rational and useful plan. The garden, very considerable in size, is full of large mango-trees, all of coarse quality as to fruit. I ordered the greater part of them to be cut away, as likewise a large proportion of the citron and orange-trees, which are much too numerous. There are two distinct kinds of the former. The lemons here have a marked difference from those of the West Indies, and are not so good. I must put this garden on a better footing, for it may be rendered extraordinarily useful.

December 31st.—Advanced to Umhacta, through a rich, well-cultivated country. We now saw the snowy ridge to advantage, though the view of it was different from that at Moradabad. The morning was severely cold.

1815.

JANUARY 1st.—Reached Lucknontic, a place of no consequence; the march offered nothing remarkable beyond the cold. The wind blew from the snowy mountains, and we felt their influence throughout the day. We had divine service.

January 2nd.—Crossed the Jumna. Though this may perhaps be reckoned its lowest period, it is a great body of water. I forded it on my elephant. The bottom is sand. It was firm where I passed, but in other parts three or four elephants were much embarrassed by sinking in it. When an elephant is thus entangled, they give him large fascines of brushwood, and he will with his trunk place them under his leg, so as to enable himself to draw up his feet out of the quicksand. Some camels had stuck fast near the western shore. Ropes were tied round them, with the ends fastened to elephants, who readily dragged the camels out of their difficulty. The Nawab, Ruhmut Khan, ruler of Koonjpoora, with his brother, Gholam Mohee-oo-Deen Khan, came to meet me with all his armed retinue. We passed close along the ditch of Koonjpoora, the walls of which place are in good condition. The scarp and counterscarp are of brick, laid pattern-wise, so as to produce a handsome effect, besides keeping the works from being washed down. It stands the Nawab in stead to have the cantonment of Kurnaul between him and the Sikh chiefs; or the latter would soon find excuse for overpowering this Mohamedan establishment. Ruhmut Khan seemed well aware of this, and said frankly, I might well trust him, as he had not any security for his existence but in the British Government. Our camp here (Kurnaul) is in front of the cantonment, the town lying at some little distance in the rear of our right flank.

January 4th.—I examined minutely all the environs, being strongly impressed with the necessity of always keeping

together, in this country, bodies of troops capable of being opposed to an enemy on the most sudden emergency. Kurnaul has appeared to me, from its general position relatively to the frontier eligible as a station for such a corps. Meerut is not only too much retired, but labours under the disadvantage that for two months or longer, annually, the communication between it and Delhi or Loodheanah is cut off by the swelling of the Jumna. Accidental floods at other periods render the fords impassable for some days. The city of Kurnaul, which has been flourishing and considerable formerly, was reduced to the ruinous and desolate state in which it now appears by the same cause which had thinned the population and destroyed the opulence of the Doab; I mean the incessant wars urged by soldiers of fortune at the head of predatory bands throughout the western parts of India. Under our Government all begins to revive again; but there is such a conviction in the minds of the inhabitants that a great number of active and daring individuals scattered through these provinces are ready to resort to any standard which will afford the prospect of rapine, as in a considerable degree checks confidence; and will do so till they have had more experience of the permanence and vigour of our Government. I inspected the fort and the artillery depot; essentially they are separate buildings, but they are now connected by an outwork of earth, which is a material security to one part of the depot. This latter building was a serai, for the convenience of travellers. General Hewitt, then Commander-in-Chief, appropriated it to the use of Government, as appertaining to no individual. Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley, then Adjutant-General being more intimate with the feelings of the natives, lamented the impression likely to be made by this perversion of a charitable establishment; therefore he purchased a neighbouring spot of ground, and built on it, at his own expense, a serai of equal extent (though not equally ornamented), which he made over to the city. The building converted into a depot is square, with two elegant gateways. The arched accommodations all round afford excellent stowage for the guns and stores. The roof, supported by

those arches, is flat, and forms a broad rampart walk behind a good parapet. An excellent ditch, secured by the fire of towers at three of the corners, renders the defensive state of the depot nearly complete. The part where the work has not been perfected is the fourth corner, where the plan could not be continued without destroying a large tree, under which a fakeer has taken up his residence. Leaving an object of great public concern unfinished on this account shows the attention which is paid (and wisely) to the prejudices of the natives. The intention of establishing the cantonment of a large corps at Kurnaul will render the weakness of this point of the depot indifferent.

The fort is a small square work of somewhat greater elevation (from the ground on which it is built) than the depot. At each angle there is a kind of bastion, whence guns would have a good range. These works are very sufficient against sudden assault. An enemy who had time and means for opening batteries against them would have great advantage in being able to approach close to them under cover. In the middle of the day I held a durbar for the Mohamedan chiefs. The Nawab Ruhmut Khan, his brother, Mohummud Khan, Ahmed Ali Khan, Mohummud Ishauk Khan, Ghyrul Ali Khan, Gushurut Ali Khan, Syed Fyzoola Shah, Meer Unwar Shah, and Meer Boorhaun Ali, were the principal.

These Affghan chiefs are fine-looking men. They seem very solicitous to be received separately from the Sikh chiefs, who encamped with most numerous retinues in our neighbourhood this day, and who are to have their audience to-morrow.

January 5th.—I traced for a considerable distance the vestiges of the famous canal of Murdun Ali Khan. It began where the Jumna bursts through the hills into the plain, and it took a direction nearly parallel to that of the river quite to Delhi. Its object was to fertilize the long tract of country from its source to its termination; in which extent no tolerable water is to be produced but by sinking wells to such an enormous depth as is beyond the compass or ordinary funds. All the water found in the higher strata is

brackish and is deleterious to vegetables as well as unwholesome for man. The stream of the Jumna in running through this country becomes so tainted, that the necessity of drinking it at Delhi since the canal has been destroyed, has produced great unhealthiness in the city. This noble work of art formerly rendered the country through which it passed an absolute garden; and the sums paid by the several villages, in proportion to their respective population, for the privilege of drawing water from the canal, furnished a considerable revenue to Government. The effects of the canal of the cultivation of the country were so striking, that it obtained the name of the Sea of Plenty. During the wars which for a long period wasted the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, the banks of the canal were broken in many places, and its course stopped; so that when the works by which the water was conducted from the Jumna into it were destroyed by accident, no set of men found an interest to excite their negotiating for their restoration, or perhaps saw a chance of prevailing on the Sikhs to allow it. The country has now, in consequence, an air of desolation. Ruins of villages meet the eye everywhere. There is no cultivation but close to considerable towns, where the residence of a chief and the opulence of the community have allowed the means to be contributed for providing the neighbourhood with deep wells and good water. The possibility of re-establishing this canal had early struck me. I conceived that it would be an enterprise not only dignified for our Government, but advantageous in a high degree by procuring us tenants for lands which no man can now have an inducement to rent from us. The report of the engineers has been favourable beyond what I had calculated. I had assured myself that, as all the deep excavations must remain little altered, the nature of the operations for re-establishing the trunk of the canal could not be expensive, and I find I had reasoned justly. On a rough estimate the engineers compute that three lacs of rupees would suffice to put the whole of the canal into perfect condition. From their explanations I believe they have made a liberal calculation. As such an outgoing is trifling indeed in comparison to the

benefits which must result from the completion of the object I have determined on undertaking the repair immediately. The canal was close to the town and cantonments of Kurnaul, and will be inestimable to both. In the middle of the day I had my durbar. The Sikhs came in great, but truly military pomp. The Maharajah Kurrum Sing, of Puttealah, was the first in rank. He is about eighteen years of age, above six feet in height, and of an open, pleasing countenance. The first impression made by his looks was not improved, and I suspect that there is not much in him. His minister, Misser Nodha Roy, appeared to guide him altogether; so much so as to tell him to make his salaam in acknowledgment for anything courteous that I said to him. The Rajahs, Bhaug Sing (Sirdar of Jheend), Bhye Laul Sing (Sirdar of Keitul), Ajeet Sing (Sirdar of Ladoooha), Futteh Sing, son of the late Bhunga Sing, of Tannissar, and Gholaub Sing, nephew of the same person, were the principal chiefs.

Their manner was confident and manly, though highly respectful. Each of them presented a bow, desiring it to be observed that he added no arrow. Kurrum Sing then bade the minister step forward, and in the name of the whole explain the nature of the present. They wished it to be understood that, in delivering the bow to me, they had put the emblem of power into my hand; and that they had not offered any quiver with it, because they themselves were the arrows, to be directed at my pleasure against any foe. Finding that I spoke to them frankly and cordially, they adopted a tone of cheerful but most polite freedom, equally distant from the cautious reserve of the Mohamedan, or the timidity of the Hindoo; and they appeared extraordinarily gratified. With a good-humoured solicitation, they asked me if some of their principal officers might come into the tent and present nuzzurs, as they said the men were dying to see me. I immediately consented, and touched the nuzzurs of as many as were brought up to my chair. When this ceremony was over, I requested the Maharajah to accept a new-fashioned English gun, as a mark of my sense of the zeal with which he had furnished troops to Colonel

Ochterlony, far beyond what he was bound to supply as his contingent. He seemed to feel the compliment much. I then apprized them of my intention to repair the canal. A general cry of "Wah!" "Wah!" (their applausive exclamation) resounded through the tent. They said it would be a blessing to millions. When I rose to give them otto, on their taking leave, they crowded about me, with looks of grateful cordiality, which gave me uncommon pleasure; for I had thence reason to think that I had hit upon the right tone with them, and that I had awakened in them a feeling of warmth towards the Company's Government. We are too apt to think that these people are swayed by the same dry, deliberate calculations of interest which would guide us, or that they see their advantages through the same medium with us. It is not the case. One need only look at these folks to be convinced that there is a pride about them which would make them condemn a notion of our support, were the condition for it presented to them in a humiliating light. From the specimen which I have seen of the Sikhs, I should describe them as a bold, athletic, and animated race. The chiefs and their attendants were richly dressed, but in a martial way. They all wear a scarlet turban, wreathed very close and high, so as to be almost conical, which appears fashioned for activity. Their several escorts of troops were handsome and soldier-like. The Maharajah produced, from his mother, some splendid pearls for Lady Loudoun; but we made him sensible, so that he could not take our declining them amiss, of the reasons which obliged her in every instance to excuse herself from the acceptance of such presents. We parted, I believe, mutually pleased.

January 6th.—At the entreaty of the public secretaries, who had been most laboriously employed in preparing answers respecting voluminous despatches from Europe transmitted by the vice-president in council, I agreed to halt here for this day. Nothing particular occurred.

January 7th.—Marched to Moonuck through a waste

country, covered with scrubby trees. These were principally the dauk. It is of no use but for firewood. Being of rapid growth, what is cut away is speedily replaced; therefore, in general, the villagers cut it at pleasure. In some places, however, the zemindars, who squeeze the peasants grievously, make the people pay considerably for it.

January 8th.—Reached Suffeedan. It is fortified, but is of little strength. The Sirdar of Jheend, to whom it belongs, has a palace here; and he was now at the place having stopped through indisposition, on his return to Jheend, after visiting me at Kurnaul. Not knowing this, Lady Loudoun went into the town to look at it, while I remained occupied with business in the camp. Baugh Sing immediately sent to his son to express the regret he felt that illness prevented his attending her himself; adding that his son was to escort her about the town. Lady Loudoun was obliged to submit to the civility. When she came back and mentioned the circumstance, I sent a complimentary message of thanks to the young chief, and I requested his acceptance of a double-barrelled pistol to show that I understood the particular politeness (a homage in their construction) of his attending her palankeen. I rode out in the evening to examine the neighbouring country. It did not pass unobserved; for one of our officers overheard some of the Jheend soldiers, who were walking in our camp and noticing my distant movements, say, "These English will know everything."

January 9th.—Yesterday evening we heard of a lion in the neighbourhood.

January 10th.—We encamped this day in front of Jheend. The town covers a small hill, and it has at a distance a showy appearance which gradually declines as a nearer approach affords a more distinct one. The place is fortified in a manner to be respectable against a native force. The fort, or citadel, which contains the palace, is within the town, and shouldered by the houses. As it is built on the most elevated part of the hill, it looks over everything.

From the manner in which the works and buildings are huddled together in this place, it would soon be reduced by a proper proportion of mortars.

January 13th.—Marched to Hansi. The fort stands on an elevation considerable for this country; and as the hill is insulated and abrupt it is a striking object. The Irregular Horse of Captain Skinner, ordered to be completed to 3000, were drawn up on my way to the camp. Their yellow cassocks, and peculiar close turbans, have an excellent effect. The corps has a very warlike appearance. Mr. Wilder, third assistant to the Resident of Delhi, met us here. In the afternoon I went to examine the fort. It was the favourite stronghold and residence of George Thomas, well-known for having during a considerable time maintained an independent dominion over a large tract of territory here. All that he did within the fort was on a scale that bespeaks an enlarged mind. The tank in the centre of the fort, constructed to receive and preserve the rain water, is really fine. Everything else there is in a state of sad dilapidation. As a frontier post, Hansi is very advantageously situated; therefore it is expedient to keep up the fortress. The strength of it may be materially augmented by removing many of the existing works, and adding in their stead some flanking defences to the inner fort. A small garrison would then suffice for its security. At present a large body would be required to guard the fortifications against any numerous force.

January 14th.—At daybreak I went out to review the Irregular Cavalry. They bear this name because the officers have not rank on the establishment, and they are supposed to be kept in pay only for a momentary purpose. This corps, however, has been long kept in the service of the Company, and could not be dispensed with. It is only in description that it is irregular; for according to its own system, which is that of the Mahrattas, improved by Skinner, it is under strict and accurate discipline. Each man, for a certain sum monthly, provides his own horse, arms, and

clothing, the two last being fixed by pattern; any man who does not keep himself properly equipped is immediately dismissed. After the corps had exhibited some manœuvres, after their fashion, the feats of the horsemen individually were displayed. A quart wine bottle was placed upright on the ground. This was to serve as a mark at which the men, one after another, were to fire, while they galloped past it at full speed. The dexterity with which they used their long and awkward matchlocks in this trial was surprising. Several of them broke the bottle; all of them shot very near it. Next they skirmished with blank cartridges. They who pretended to be beaten showed uncommon adroitness in turning round upon their horses and firing on their pursuers. The best part of the exhibition, however, was the skill of some of the men in parrying the lance with a sword. The lancer was supposed to have gained the advantage of placing himself on the left of the horseman whom he pursued. In that relative position, the horses going at full gallop, the swordsman quitted his right stirrup, and throwing his right leg over the horse stood in the left stirrup facing to the rear, and parrying the thrusts of the lance with the sabre. It must not be supposed that the lancers were inexpert. Tent-pins were driven into the ground with a mallet, so strongly that it would have been impossible for the most powerful arm to move them without their being previously loosened. Horsemen rode at these, and hitting them with the point of a spear forced them up from the ground.

January 15th.—We had divine service. In the middle of the day I received Jeswunt Sing, the Sikh chief of Naba. His appearance was very respectable. I then desired to see Captain Skinner. Private information had been given to me that he had become dissatisfied with our service and proposed to resign. He is a half-caste, and was formerly in the Mahratta service. On the war breaking out with them, he quitted their service in consequence of the proclamation, recalling all British subjects, was employed by us, and much distinguished himself by his enterprise, his in-

trepidity, and his judgment. At the peace the corps commanded by him was kept in pay, and he was retained at its head. The frontier station of Hansi was assigned as its quarters. The equity and the strict observance of every promise which had marked Captain Skinner for many years, had obtained for him a prodigious influence among the natives. The loss of such a man at such a moment would be serious, especially as there is little probability that he could reconcile his mind to idleness, and it is sure that he would have most tempting offers from Holkar or Scindiah. His discontent arose from this, that the officers of Irregulars have no rank but in their own corps. Hence, if the garrison of native infantry at Hansi be reduced (as has often been the case) to a subaltern's party, Captain Skinner must find himself under the orders of possibly a very inexperienced youth. I affected not to know anything of the dispositions which he had indulged; but, beginning by a compliment to the state of his corps, I told him I wished to give a public mark of my estimation of his character. I, therefore, requested he would assume the honorary title of Lieutenant-Colonel; and I apprized him of my intention to propose to Government that such a rank in the Irregulars should entitle the officer holding it to rank as youngest field officer of the line, and to command accordingly all captains and subalterns. I explained that as battalions were often commanded by captains, it would be easy to compose such a corps for an irregular officer in whom one had confidence, as might enable him to achieve actions meriting the highest distinctions and recompence. He appeared extraordinarily gratified, and with peculiar earnestness entreated me to rely on his unreserved devotion. To understand this warmth of feeling, one ought to know the excessive depression in which the half-castes are held by the Company's servants. Till Lady Loudoun gave a private hint that colour never would be noticed, half-caste ladies, though of the best education and conduct, and married to men in prominent stations, were not admitted to the Government House. Some officers have come this day from Ameer Khan's camp, bringing with them parties of their men mounted and

equipped, in order to be enrolled in Skinner's corps. Opinion of him personally has considerable weight in this; but the certainty of good treatment and regular payment is the main inducement. Skinner accepts the services of none who are not of good character within his own knowledge, or are not recommended by some officer of his corps. The persons arrived this day assert that Ameer Khan has, in his camp, 30,000 fighting men, with 125 pieces of cannon. I have in general abstained from inserting in this book any statement of public affairs, because my letter-book would afford a connected picture of such matters; but it may be well to record here what is my actual situation. With the force abovementioned, Ameer Khan has taken up a position in the territory of the Rajah of Joypore, only twelve marches from the most important part of the Delhi district. Being grievously in want of money, he keeps this army together with great difficulty; yet he has no declared or obvious object, but incurs the distressing expense in absolute inactivity. It is clear that he is waiting in the hope of untoward events occurring to us in the Nepaulese war; an expectation founded on the extravagant opinion they entertain of the Gorkha power, and on the distorted accounts circulated respecting the reverses we have already suffered in the contest. Should he make an inroad, I can collect little more than about 4,500 cavalry and infantry to put myself at the head of in order to meet him; and he must be fought as expeditiously as possible; since he might gain by delay, and I could not. It would depend on circumstances whether I could reinforce myself with 1,000 of Skinner's Horse; for it is probable the Pindarries would make a simultaneous movement, and there is only this corps to be produced here, the quarter in which the Pindarries would attempt materially to penetrate. The quality of Ameer Khan's troops must not be misunderstood. His cavalry is trained exactly like Skinner's, and has been employed in petty warfare for years. His own artillery is good. One of our artillery officers who saw his horse artillery, assured me it was as well equipped as our own. Holkar's artillery, which is with him, is known to be well

managed. Mohummud Khan's infantry and artillery form a part of the corps, and are allowedly the best in the pay of any native chieftain. They were both formed originally of the sepoys and Golandauzes (native artillerists) whom we improvidently turned adrift in a precipitate reduction of our forces after the Mahratta war; and they are both said to be as accurate in discipline as our own. The infantry consists of six regular battalions. Ameer Khan has regular battalions of his own, but not so well disciplined. My small force would have to assemble at Muttra, for which it is in readiness. I do not like to bring it together prematurely, that its insufficiency may not be measured by the mischievously-disposed chieftains in our neighbourhood. None of the troops at Cawnpore can be moved in this direction, as where they are they are some degree of check on Scindiah. He is now at Cawnpore, with not more than 10,000 men, but he has only to reunite those corps of his which are actually in the field, and his army is at once fit for exertion. At Gwalior he is only three marches from the Doab, five from Agra, five from Delhi. The Pindarries, professed freebooters, existing upon plunder, can to a certainty bring above 20,000 horse into the field, part of it excellent in quality. Luckily, bitter dissensions among themselves insure us against their acting as one body. Still, the cloud which overhangs us is imposing. Such is the consequence of the miserably inadequate establishment which the Company allowed for the defence of this part of its dominions. The exigencies of the war with the Gorkhas, whose successes have intimidated our troops and our generals, have forced me to send into the hills everything that was disposable, because it would be the first step to a speedy subversion of our power were we to be foiled in that struggle, and I dare not myself go thither to remedy mismanagement, lest my quitting this frontier should confirm the notion of our unfavourable prospects and excite an alarm in these ill-protected districts, which would of itself be enough to invite Ameer Khan to immediate effort. With a deeply anxious heart. I am keeping up an air of indifference and confidence, and I am convinced that I thence am supposed to possess ample

resources, though they are not immediately apparent. My position is, however, better than it was. Some time ago, in addition to what menaces us here, Runjeet Sing assembled hastily a large army on the right bank of the Sutlej, precisely at the place whence he last penetrated into Hindostan. There can be no doubt but that he was tempted to this measure by the belief that a fair opportunity presented itself for balancing old scores with us. We have been freed from this danger by the most unexpected of interventions. The King of Cabul, in no concert with us, collected his army and sent a message to Runjeet Sing, importing that if the latter did not without delay satisfy His Majesty respecting some territory in debate between them, the Affghan army would advance to Lahore. Runjeet Sing was obliged to march immediately to his capital, whence, I understand, he means to despatch a vakeel to me with the warmest assurances of friendship towards the British Government. Another event, equally fortunate and equally beyond calculation, has been of no little benefit to us in this crisis. Jean Baptiste and Jeswunt Rao, generals, commanding two of Scindiah's armies, estranged by long animosities, came to a rupture on some unimportant quarrel, and fairly attacked each other at the head of their respective divisions. Jeswunt Rao was beaten, and lost many cannon. The difference is not healed, and Scindiah's doubts whether he can depend upon Jeswunt Rao had probably had much share in preventing the interruption of our tranquillity. The unfortunate Rajpoot States of Jeypore, Joudpore, Oudipore, mercilessly wasted by Scindiah, Holkar, Ameer Khan, Mohummud Shah Khan, and the Pindarries, have assailed me with repeated petitions to take them under protection as feudatories to the British Government. The inexplicable treaty by which Sir G. Barlow, without receiving any consideration for the pledge, bound this Government in an engagement with Scindiah and Holkar not to interfere in any way with the Rajpoot States, would render it a direct breach of public faith were we to take a step equally counselled by a generous humanity and by an unquestionable interest.

January 16th.— We set out on our march. We found our tents pitched at Chota (little) Bhowanee.

January 17th.—Although we were told that all the country parallel to the march we had to make this day, was so devoid of cover as to afford no prospect of meeting a lion, the knowledge that we were after this day to enter a country so highly cultivated as to preclude the possibility of finding them, made us resolve not to throw away even the poor chance which we still had. At about seven miles wide of our road, two curious hills, apparently composed of loose blocks of stone, arose from the plain. We thought there might be cover about their bases, but there was not any on the side which we approached. These hills, now perceived by us to be the beginning of a chain which connects with the Alwar elevations, have clearly been produced by some kind of eruption which has forced up the strata of stone, and accumulated them in fragments in these detached heaps. Foiled in our hope, the forwardness of the day would have recommended that we should strike for the main road which led towards our camp. In that line, however, we could see there was not a bush. About six miles ahead of us, there appeared trees which we supposed to be a thicket. We resolved to push for it. In our way we fell in with some large herds of cattle. The men attending them, of the tribe of Jhaats, informed us that the trees to which we were steering only surrounded a village, but that they could show us, at about two miles from where we then were, a place where was great probability of our finding a lion. They told us that they had of late often seen to, which had carried off many of their cows.

It is extraordinary how little apprehension these people have of the lion. They say it never wantonly attacks a man; so that if it gets enough of other food, and they do not provoke it, they are not terrified at seeing it prowling about. Then they always say to you, if it be my destiny to be eaten by a lion, no care of mine will prevent it; he will come and take me out of my bed. Leaving the cattle under the charge of some boys, three or four men went to

show the place where they thought it likely our game should be found.

There never was a more promising spot. It was a dell, which ran from the back of the first hill, and it was full of long grass and thorns. We beat it with the utmost care, refraining from firing at other animals, which continually started up before us, but found no lion. We then returned to the herds. I this day remarked what I had indeed observed on many former occasions, what a fine race of men the Sikhs and Jhaats are. They are not bulky, but they are tall and energetic. Their step is firm and elastic; their countenances frank, confident, and manly; and their address has much natural politeness. I had noticed the same appearance in the Rohillas and Patans, but with less of cheerful air than what I observe in the Sikhs. More active, brave, and sturdy fellows can nowhere be found than these tribes present. The man who more particularly attached himself to me as my guide on this occasion had rich gold ear-rings beautifully wrought, though he had on no other article of dress than a pink turban and a wrapper round his loins. When we approached the head, we observed at about two hundred yard's distance from it a patch of between eight and ten acres in extent, covered with low straggling thorns, with here and there a large bush clothed with evergreen bind weed, but the cover was so thin, and there were so many cattle tracks through it, that in England one should not have looked for a fox in such a place. More from the principle of leaving nothing untried than from the supposition that there was any chance of finding a lion there, we directed our course through the thorns. When we had got nearly to the further end, two lionesses started up before us. Some ineffectual shots were fired, and both the animals took to the plain. One, at which both my rifles missed fire, gained a little ravine at some distance, which we took for granted must yield her a secure escape. The other afforded us a curious spectacle.

There was so little expectation of our finding a lion there, that one of Skinner's Irregular horsemen (a party of whom attended us at a distance) was riding up to the thorns

to deliver a letter which had been sent after me. The lioness made a dash at him, though her distance from him was considerable. He made off with all the speed to which his spurs could rouse the horse. The lioness coursed him fairly in the open plain, and gained so much upon him as to give us extreme uneasiness. At length, by the time he had reached a little rising ground, his horse got into his rate, and the lioness found she could not overtake him. She then turned round the point of the hill over which he had gone straight. Just at that moment, all the herdsmen who had followed us called to us, and said that the first lioness had come back into the thorns. We had no difficulty in finding her. The gentleman who first stumbled on her wounded her. Though she was much crippled by the shots, when I met her, on turning round a bush, she made a gallant run at my elephant. I, luckily, hit her in the head, and she fell immediately. At that moment the screams of the herdsmen made us turn round, and we beheld the other lioness galloping through the midst of them to regain the cover. Though she passed close to three or four, she did not attempt to strike at any of them, but hastened to take refuge in the longest and best covered bush that the place afforded. I caused my elephant, which was a powerful one, to be pushed at her citadel. The elephant intrepidly forced its head into the bush, when some other elephants could not be brought to approach it. The lioness was growling in a tone which gave them to understand that she might revenge an insult. The thorns were so excessively interlaced that my elephant could not force its way to the centre of the bush. My head was above the leafy covering, and I never could discover the animal, but I was quite sensible of the efforts made by my elephant to reach the lioness with its foot, and trample on it, an attempt which was prevented from succeeding by the toughness and intertexture of the stems. I fired three shots at random, and hearing no more noise, imagined I had despatched the animal. I therefore directed my mahout to go to the other side of the bush where I thought it might be more practicable to obtain a view. Just as I got round, the lioness darted out, and springing at the

elephant on which Mr. Shakespear was riding, fixed her talons in each of its ears while she vigorously assailed its forehead with her teeth. The violent exertions of the elephant to get rid of this troublesome appendage put into confusion all the elephants that were near, and prevented help being given. But it had a still worse effect; for in one of its ungovernable efforts the elephant threw Mr. Shakespear out of the howdah. Luckily, he fell on a bush, so that he was not hurt, yet he rolled to the ground, and there lay exposed. Two of Skinner's horsemen seeing his situation most gallantly drew their sabres and galloped forward to protect him. At the same instant the lioness was thrown off, but happily on the side opposite to that where Mr. Shakespear lay. On recovering herself, her attention was attracted by the haunches of an elephant which had wheeled round through fear close to her. She seized it, and tore the inside of both its thighs dreadfully. There was now, however, an opportunity of firing at her, and she received three or four wounds. Checked by these, she retired into the bush; she could not be seen there; but so many shots were fired into it on chance, that some could not have avoided hitting her. Wearied with this annoyance, she slunk out into some thinner cover. My elephant soon reached the place; and I saw her lying exhausted. She roused herself and attempted to come towards me; but I believe the effort would have been vain had I not given her another shot, which was instantly decisive. It was with great difficulty that we brought to our camp, at Great Bhowannee, the elephant whose thighs had been so lacerated. Its loss of blood was excessive. In our way home we saw many bustards; they appear to differ from the English bustard only in the amplitude of a loose black topping and some long flossy white feathers round the neck. They were extraordinarily shy. I observed this day one of those effects of whirlwind described by Bence. Three or four minor gusts had raised the dust at different times, and carried it up in a column the height of many feet. At last, one at some distance from us raised a perfect column that could not have been less than three score feet high; probably much

more. The sun shining on the dust gave it a gilded appearance. It was quite thin, as I could perceive by the way in which the dust fell when the gust no longer supported it. I imagine the pillars of movings and supposed to be so fatal occasionally to caravans are equally innocuous.

January 18th.—Our lionesses were measured last night; one was nine feet four inches from the nose to the tip of the tail; the other two inches less. In such a measurement the tail of the lion furnishes less than that of the tiger to the general amount. Anxious interest, as had been the case on a former occasion, was made with our servants for a bit of the flesh though it should be of the size of a hazel-nut. Every native in the camp, male or female, who was fortunate enough to get a morsel, dressed it and eat it. They have a thorough conviction that the eating a piece of lion's flesh strengthens the constitution incalculably, and is a preservative against many particular distempers. This superstition does not apply to tiger's flesh, though the whiskers and claws of that animal are considered as very potent for bewitching people. Our native attendants (I have been assured) do not at all like that those articles should get into our hands, though they cannot exactly tell in what manner the misapplication of the power by us is dreaded by them. Our march this day was to Dadree. The Nawab Fyze Mohummud Khan, ordinarily called the Nawab of Narnoul, had come forward to that town (which belongs to him) to pay his attention. It was settled that he should breakfast with me; and that in the afternoon, when I rode to look at the town, I should pay him a short visit. The Nawab with his uncle Fyze Tullub Khan, administrator during the Nawab's minority, and two of the Nawab's brothers, met us about the middle of the march. The riding-dresses of them all were very handsome, and they appeared good horsemen. On approaching the town, we discovered a considerable line of troops drawn up. There were two corps of cavalry, a battalion of sepoys equipped like ours, a strong regiment of nujeebs, or regular matchlock men, with four pieces of cannon. They all looked very well. Some bodies of the

Nawab's troops are at this instant doing duty for us at frontier stations, whence we have been obliged to withdraw our infantry for service against the Gorkhas.

As I passed along the line, some of the sepoys quitted the ranks, and attempted to run forward to my elephant, but were stopped by their officers. On my arrival in camp, the Nawab and his attendants were not forthcoming; I soon learnt that we were not likely to have their company, for the troops had mutinied and seized them. It was to complain of being grievously in arrear of pay that the men had attempted to get to me. In order to prevent any explanation of this to me, or any further attempt to state their wrongs, the Nawab had stayed behind. Approaching the infantry to harangue them, he with his suite found themselves suddenly enveloped and prisoners. It was my policy to feign ignorance of the event, that I might not be under the necessity of an awkward intervention. I detached Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner privately, to endeavour at conciliating the men. This he effected readily. His simple assurance that he would see justice done to them quieted the business immediately and emancipated the personages who had been held in restraint. The poor Nawab was not to be persuaded that I must not be furious against him for this scene, and his uncle was not less so. I quieted them by message assuring them that I was not absolutely outrageous, and that (although it would not be fitting for me to go into Dadree while there was a possibility of the ferments recommencing) I would take an early opportunity of showing him attention. In the afternoon, I received Ruhmut Ali Khan, son of the late chief of Melwar Khotelah. These interviews have effect beyond the mere fulfilment of empty form. The feudatory Chief and Jagheerdars, from even that slight intercourse, feel themselves more personally connected with the Government; and the homage which they pay is a plighted fidelity before the public.

January 19th.—We marched to Husseingunje. This is a little town which had been fortified with mud-walls and four round bastions, by George Thomas. It is now

within the territory of Fyze Mohummud Khan. Soon after my arrival an express followed from him to inform me that an arrangement had been made with which the troops had been entirely satisfied. In the middle of the day, I was apprized that he had come to the town, beyond which our camp stood at about a mile's distance, for the purpose of being near enough to render any service that we might require. To repay this attention, I mounted my horse in the afternoon, and rode to the town. Just as I had entered the gate, I met him hurrying afoot with the rest of his family to it. He and his uncle appeared exceedingly confused and depressed. I got off my horse immediately and embracing them both before all the people, restored their spirits. The Nawab is about nineteen, rather stout, and well-looking, and of good manners. His brothers are much younger. The uncle is a manly, gallant, and sagacious fellow. I had been grieved that anything had affected the pride he naturally indulged in displaying a well-appointed little force which was always at the requisition of our Government, therefore I strove to dispel any notion of discredit which might have been taken up by his followers. The inside of the town was wretched. I walked with the Nawab to the poor mansion in which he had taken up his quarters, and sat down with him. A rich sword, with a tray of jewels, and various other articles, were brought for me, with another tray of diamonds and rubies for Lady Loudoun. I reminded him that I had accepted his peshcush (a present understood to convey a profession of fealty), when he had put himself to the trouble of so long a march as the coming to see me at Moradabad; that he must perceive I had not been insensible to his zeal on that occasion; that a second peshcush was unnecessary where reciprocal kindness existed, and my acceptance of it would be to subject him to an useless expense, but that in token of friendship I would take one article. I fixed on a pair of Cashmere stockings. They appeared to be of a very fine sort of felt, composed of pretty long light brown hair, exceedingly soft and pliant. In walking back towards the entrance of the town we met my children, and I introduced

them to him. On reaching the gate, I again embraced him, his uncle, and his brothers, and bade him a good evening.

January 20th.—Four of our servants had set out in the middle of the night to reach our new camp at Dholera at an early hour, in order to have our breakfast ready when we should arrive. They were on a pad elephant and for the purpose of avoiding the dust, had chosen not to go with a party of servants which regularly proceeded under protection of an escort about the same hour. They came back before day, in desperate trepidation. They reported that when they got half way, the elephant was stopped by two large animals, who approached it growling and roaring furiously; that these beasts walked round them several times; that the elephant fell into a violent trembling; which was fully answered by their own muscles, and that the elephant had at last fairly run away with them back to Husseingunje. The mahout confirmed the story, declaring that his fears had absolutely petrified him, and that he did not recover the use of either his judgment or his hands till he had got at least two miles from the spot where they had been beset. From the account, I should imagine that the elephant had at first showed much steadiness, and remained firm till he found that his riders were not of the same way of thinking with him. The animals must have been tigers; for we are now in the midst of a cultivated tract, and lions (as I learn) never come into a country of that description. The vast plains of Hurreeanah where nothing interrupts their locomotive disposition, are exactly suited to them. That immense district is the finest for a sportsman I have ever seen, and I should have had singular gratification in being able to indulge myself in a few days more of shooting there. The pressure of many vital concerns allowed me no such scope. It is observable, from the experience of that country, that where there are lions a tiger is scarcely ever seen; so that one has to suspect the former has the mastery. The tiger, however, exceeds in bulk and apparent strength the Asiatic lion. It has not, indeed, the same elastic gait; and I should think there may be a vivacity in the courage of the

lion which might alone render the neighbourhood uncomfortable to the tiger, though he were essentially stronger. The natives evidently believe in the superiority of the lion; for in those parts where we have been sporting they have no name for the animal but *bura sheer*, the greater tiger. Encouraged by the report of our frightened servants, we tried the country parallel with the line of march, at the distance of about a mile from the road; but we found no place where it was likely a tiger should lie. The whole tract, in the direction which we took, with a great width to each side, is highly cultivated. I was conscious of a curious sensation. Some time ago, the expectation of meeting a tiger would have been one of the most eager possible. Now the game appeared secondary to a lion, and the anxiety had proportionally diminished. We reached Dholera, a poor place, affording nothing worthy of observation.

January 21st.—Proceeded to Bahadurghur. As our tents were pitched beyond it, I rode through the town to reach it. It has formerly been a place of no mean rate, but it has fallen much into decay. The walls are still kept up in tolerable order, though it has never been strong. The ground on which our camp was fixed appeared all undermined by some small animal. If, in riding, one did not keep to a beaten path one's horse sunk continually into the burrows.

January 22nd.—Soon after midnight a most violent rain came on and lasted till seven this morning. The deluge, by filling the burrows, forced the poor tenants of them to come out in numbers and seek shelter in our tents. The animal is a large species of dormouse, about the size of a half-grown rat, of a cream-colour, with very prominent black eyes, and a tuft of hair at the end of the tail. The little creatures showed no fear of us, and only quietly moved aside as we approached them. I believe their confidence commanded safety for them, so that few if any of them were hurt in the camp. Mr. Metcalfe arrived from Delhi. The King had been carrying on a wearisome negotiation with him to obtain that I should visit him. Mr. Metcalfe always

returned the same answer,—namely, that I had expressed myself as very desirous of paying my personal attentions to His Majesty; but had told him (Mr. Metcalfe) that I was restrained from doing so by the knowledge that His Majesty expected my acquiescence in a ceremonial which was to imply His Majesty's being the liege lord of the British possessions. This dependent tenure, Mr. Metcalfe assured him, could never be acknowledged by me. The King tried a variety of modifications as to the particular form in which his suzerainty over the Company's territories was to be asserted; but at length, after Mr. Metcalfe's assuring him that the more or the less of the distinctions to be shown to me could have no effect where my resistance was to the admission of any foreign supremacy over our dominions, His Majesty at length gave up the hope of a meeting. This procedure on my part was dictated not more by the tenure of the recent Act of Parliament which declares the sovereignty of the Company's possession to be in the British Crown, than by a clear conviction of our impolicy in keeping up the notion of a paramountship in the King of Delhi. It is dangerous to uphold for the Mussulmans a rallying point, sanctioned by our own acknowledgment that a just title to supremacy exists in the King of Delhi. Were the two elder brothers of Prince Jehangeer to die before the King, their issue becomes by the Mohamedan law cut out from the succession. Jehangeer would then, according to the principle of primogeniture which we have maintained, ascend the throne whensoever his father should die. We should then find that we had invested a young vigorous man, who cherishes the deepest animosity towards us, with unquestioned right to call on the native sovereigns for support against our oppressive encroachments on his rule. We should have difficulty in making out a good case consistently with our own theory; and the practical part of the business might be no less embarrassing. The house of Timour had been put to so much out of sight, that all habit of adverting to it was failing fast in India; and nothing has kept up the floating notion of a duty owed to the imperial family but our gratuitous and persevering exhibition of their pre-

tensions—an exhibition attended with much servile obeisance in the etiquettes imposed upon us by the ceremonial of the court. I have thence held it right to discountenance any pretension of the sort, either as it applies to us or to any of the native princes. It is now decided that I do not go to Delhi. A deputation will immediately proceed thither to offer my compliments to His Majesty.

January 23rd.—I rode out at daybreak. In the direction which I took there is little attempt at cultivation. The country is a sandy expanse, all undermined by the dormice. How such multitudes of those animals support themselves, where so few vegetables of any sort appear, is not easy to be solved. In the middle of the day I held a durbar. Fyze Mohummud Khan (to whom Bahadurghur belongs), with his uncle, Fyze Tullub Khan, came to take leave, and appeared very grateful. The Nawab, Vizeer Khan, ruler of Malore Kotelah, and his cousin Fuzl Ali Khan, were present; the latter is brother of Ruhmut Ali Khan, who was introduced at Dadree. The Nawab Mohummud Mozuffur Khan, a child, was brought in the arms of his maternal grandfather, Ilahee Buksh Khan, to receive the khelaut of investiture as chief of Furrucknuggur. The poor little fellow cried bitterly when a rich heavy turban was put on his head. Ray Bhowanee Shunker Istumrardar of Nujufghur; Mohummud Fyze Deen Khan, Jagheerदार of Tickree; Thakoor Doss, son of Thakoor Dya Ram of Hatrass; Ajadheea Purshaud, Khazanchy of the Delhi Residency; and Hakeem Boo Ali Khan, an old highly-respected physician of Delhi, who had been very anxious to see me, were the other principal persons.

January 24th.—Riding out along the road towards Delhi, I found the country almost as waste as on the other side of Bahadurghur. Want of water occasions the deficiency of population, and consequent activity. Unless the wells here are sunk to a depth requiring an expenditure beyond the means of individuals (those wells being at the same time lined with brick to prevent the entrance of water from

the upper strata), the springs are found so impregnated with salt, as to be quite unfit for drinking; and the application of such water to the soil is here found injurious to vegetation. Branches from the projected canal would fertilize all this tract. The canal which bore the name of Firozeshah ran from the great canal into Hurreanah, some miles beyond Hansi. I looked at its vestiges, and have ever since been anxious to dispossess the lions, by re-establishing the villages, to which such a supply of water had formerly given birth. The natural fertility of that soil is great. In the rainy season, a rich succulent grass covers the plains. It makes excellent hay. I saw at Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner's farm two stacks, each calculated for the maintenance of forty mares (he has a breeding stud) through the winter. The price which he paid for collecting the grass, making the hay, bringing it to his farm-yard, and stacking it, was sixty-four rupees (£8) for each stack.

January 25th.—We had intended to move to-day to Nureela, whence Lady Loudoun was to proceed to Delhi, and I was to repair to Meerut. Lady Loudoun was so unwell in the night that I countermanded the march. The deputation to the King of Delhi was, however, despatched. It consisted of Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton, secretaries of Government; Mr. Thompson, private secretary; Major Doyle, military secretary; Honourable Major Stanhope, first aide-de-camp; and my nephew, the Honourable William Moore. These gentlemen were instructed to present nuzzurs on their own individual account, as had been done to me by the members of the King's deputation at Moradabad, but they were not to offer any nuzzur from me. It used to be the etiquette for the Resident on particular occasion to present to the King a nuzzur from the Governor-General, as a homage from the latter to his liege lord. This custom I have abrogated: considering such a public testimony of dependence and subservience as irreconcilable to any rational policy.

January 26th.—Marched to Nureela, a country improving in cultivation as we approached it. We here met the Begum

Somroo, who had advanced thus far from her jagheer on the other side of the Jumna, to pay her compliments. This extraordinary woman was purchased when a girl by Somers, the German, infamous for having lent himself as the instrument for murdering the British prisoners at Patna, after the native sirdars had revolted at the order. That man was one of the description of Europeans frequent at the time, who used to hire themselves to the Indian princes, with a little band of native troops better armed and disciplined than was the case with the rest of the soldiery composing the armies.

These men were like the Italian condottieri of old. In proportion to the quality and reputation of their corps, they demanded a large sum for attaching themselves to the cause of any great chieftain; and the exigencies of the latter produced ready acquiescence in the unconscionable terms. Paying to their men with a punctuality unprecedented in Indian armies the moderate wages at which they had engaged those followers, they secured to their service a decided preference, while they had at disposal ample balances, which they applied in the purchase of more muskets and accoutrements for the augmentation of their corps. Somers, however atrocious, appears to have been acute and sagacious. He gradually improved his fortunes, till his assistance became a matter of importance to the Emperor. The naturally quick understanding of his wife had been strengthened and expanded by the education which he had given her the means of attaining, and she became a most active and judicious assistant to him in all his most intricate concerns. She took the field with him, and in action was borne in her palanquin from rank to rank, encouraging the men, who were enchanted with her heroism. The essential service which she rendered to Shah Allum made him confer on her life-interest, in survivance to her husband, in the considerable district assigned to Somers for the maintenance of his troops; Shah Allum further dignified her with the title of Begum or Princess. Since the death of her husband, she has managed the jagheer, the revenues of which exceed £150,000 a year, with great ability; maintaining in good order a considerable

number of troops, preserving a tolerable police in the district, and keeping up her own authority firmly. The jagheer being within the territory ceded to the Company, the Begum is now our feudatory. Troops of hers are employed in taking care of many of the places whence we have withdrawn those regiments of ours employed on the Nepaulese frontiers. The Begum dined with us. As she is a Christian, none of our dishes came amiss to her; and good Madeira wine is peculiarly acceptable to her palate. She has the remains of a fine face, with a fairer complexion than is frequent among the natives, and peculiarly intelligent eyes. Her head must always, I think, have been out of proportion to her body; for it is large, and she is short beyond what one can ascribe to sinking from age. She insists on escorting me across her district to Meerut. I expected she would rather have accompanied Lady Loudoun to Delhi, but she roundly told us she did not like to go near the royal family, as she, in that case, must pay her visit in the zenana, and would be mercilessly squeezed for presents.

January 27th.—Crossed the Jumna at Baughput, and encamped on the northern bank. On that side there is a handsome Hindoo ghaut, with the usual accompanying temples. There is probably a good endowment, for there were many fakeers among the buildings. The ford at this season is very good, the streams being not either broad or deep, and the bottom hard. The cultivation on this side is good. The Begum encamped about a quarter of a mile from our tents. In the afternoon I rode to pay her a visit. Her tent was small and simple; and the troops of her escort, well drawn out for show, made a good appearance.

January 28th.—Encamped at Poorah, on the further bank of the Kalee Nuddee. This river runs between the Jumna and the Ganges, parallel to each till it takes the turn which leads it into the latter, some distance below Furruckabad. The straightness of its course, and the depth of the water, qualities which I understand distinguish it throughout its extent, ought to render it extraordinarily useful for transporting

the produce of the Doab to distant markets; yet I do not learn that much advantage of the kind is drawn from it. Where we passed the ford was sound, but the water high.

January 29th.—Arrived at Meerut. The approach to it, over a waste plain, is not calculated to impress one with a favourable prepossession. The troops were out to receive me, and looked remarkably well. The division consists of the King's Royal Irish Dragoons, the 3rd and 7th Regiments of Native Cavalry, two battalions of Grenadiers, and two troops of Horse Artillery. Breakfasted with Major-General Sir William Keir, at present in command here. Attended divine service. There is no church, and the service is performed in one of the barrack bungalows, a building quite unfit for the purpose. The tenor of the sermon was to impress upon us the strict and defined repartition of functions between the different persons of the Trinity; a line which we were assured would be inviolably preserved from the indelicacy which each must feel would attend the trespassing on the prerogatives of another.

January 30th.—I had all the troops of the station out this morning for the performance of some manœuvres, which they executed remarkably well. In the middle of the day I had a levee for the Europeans, civil and military. In the afternoon I reviewed the two battalions of Grenadiers, and found them in excellent order.

January 31st.—This morning I reviewed the King's 8th Light Dragoons. It is a noble regiment, always distinguished for high spirit, and at present in an admirable state of discipline. Before I returned to my tent I went and examined the regimental schools. I had yesterday visited the hospitals, which I forgot to insert. I had great reason to be pleased with them, as was the case also this day with regard to the children, among whom I found many striking instances of proficiency. At noon I held a durbar. There were presented some of the respectable natives of the neighbourhood; but the principal person was the vakeel from Runjeet Sing. That

prince, aware of the awkward colour which his assembling an army on the Sutlej must bear, endeavours to remove the impression of his projected hostility by exaggerated attentions. The vakeel is charged to express Runjeet Sing's regret that I had not approached near enough to the Sutlej to allow of his coming in person to see me. The most earnest assurances of his friendship are given, and he has sent presents more than ordinarily splendid, which, of course, are accepted by the company. I, with a sincerity equal to his own, professed the most unbounded confidence in the Maharajah's amicable dispositions, was as courteous as possible to the vakeels, and clothed him in a very rich khelaut. In the afternoon I reviewed the Horse Artillery; a very well-trained and-equipped corps. After I had despatched them I reviewed the two regiments of Native Cavalry; so that this has not been an idle day. Lieutenant-Colonel Knox was the senior officer, and showed perfect knowledge in his management of the cavalry. I was much pleased with them.

February 1st.—Marched to Begumabad through a country principally desert. Many wild date-trees, scattered over portions of it, give it a resemblance to what one has heard of the Arabian wastes. The Begum Sumroo had insisted, notwithstanding every decent endeavour on my part to escape from the embarrassing attention, on accompanying me. The plea was that she had not taken formal leave of Lady Loudoun. Of course, I insisted that she should be my daily guest on this march, as she had been in our progress to Meerut. She is shrewd, and used to amuse us with sly remarks on public personages whom she had known.

February 2nd.—Marched to Dansah. We had scarcely reached our camp when heavy rain came on.

February 3rd.—The rain continued all night. As it appeared to have cleared away in the morning, I ordered tents to be struck. We had not proceeded above three miles when the rain began again. It continued till we arrived at Soorijpoor, fourteen miles from our last encampment.

February 4th.—The morning was clear, and we marched to Dankoor, where I proposed fording the Jumna. The river, however, had swelled suddenly, and the ford was impassable. We therefore pitched our tents, and I went out with three or four gentlemen to beat some jungle along the bank of the river said to be likely for game. The jungle was so filled with water that all the animals had been driven out. We therefore turned up into the country, which we found generally well cultivated. One of our party shot a partridge, which fell at some distance from shore into a large and deep jheel, or lake. The mahout of one of the elephants, which we had brought out to assist us in beating, immediately put his best into the water, and the elephant swam to the partridge very quietly; no sooner, however, was the bird got, than the elephant turned on its side, and in that position swam back to land. None of the party had ever before seen an elephant swim in that way. We came on some pretty extensive salt works of curiously simple structure. The vats were formed by little banks of clay enclosing a spot on the harder part of the soil; the brine was raised from a well by a bucket and hand-wheel, and the sun exhaled the water from the vat, leaving the salt dry. In passing the jheel on our return I saw an enormous alligator on the bank. I got my elephant near enough to have a fair shot. I hit it with one of the large balls. It rolled off the bank into the water; but although the place was very deep, it continued for several seconds floundering violently on the surface. It then sank and disappeared.

February 5th.—The river having fallen during the night, we forded it this morning, and proceeded to Koor-Ali. The country on the right bank of the river presented one of the richest scenes I have ever beheld. As far as the eye could reach in every direction the plain was covered with a luxuriant crop of wheat. The villages scattered here and there, all enveloped with trees, break the uniformity of the surface without interrupting the display of plenty which we witnessed. Having breakfasted at Koor-Ali, I mounted my horse, and rode across the country for Lady Loudoun's camp at Sikrie.

It was about fourteen miles from Koor-Ali, and she was to reach it this day on her way from Delhi. At a little village on the road, I stumbled on the Rajah of Bulumghur, who was coming in great pomp to visit me at Koor-Ali. Our interview was much less formal than he had expected. He had descended from his elephant, and come forward with his muzzur, before I knew whom we had met. Presents were called for by him; but I begged that he would be contented with my taking the matchlock and tulwar (always very ordinary ones) which are tendered on such occasions in token of feudal adherence. The forbearing to accept those articles would be construed into slighting the attachment professed. He wanted to hang a most beautiful string of pearls on the tulwar, but I would not allow it. Then he said he must follow me to Sikrie to pay his homage more formally. I showed him a prodigiously heavy cloud approaching, and I advised him to get back to Bulumghur with all speed before we should be deluged with its contents, adding that I claimed his obedience to the instruction. He seemed much gratified in being treated with this cheerful frankness, and we parted with much cordiality. I fear the finery of the poor Rajah and his suite must have suffered sadly; for, although I rode hard, before I reached Sikrie the rain came down in torrents. This Rajah is a young man with an uncommonly mild and amiable countenance.

February 6th.—The ground on which we were encamped being low, the rain made it very swampy, and the Quarter-master-General was anxious that we should get away from it. He therefore sent forward part of the baggage last night, though the appearances of change in the weather were by no means decided. About two o'clock in the morning the rain came on again with excessive violence. Unable to strike our tents, we have been obliged to remain here, the camp standing in a sheet of water. I have got Lady Loudoun and the children into a small tent, which occupies a little sort of knoll, occasioned probably by the ruins of two or three mud-houses. It has continued raining all day.

February 7th.—The sky having cleared, we set out on our march. A prodigious quantity of water lay upon our road. The soil was unluckily of a nature to become very slippery when wet; and it was painful to see that many of our camels had perished from falling with their loads. They were probably hurt by the fall, but they were also sickened by the rain, and seem not to struggle to keep their heads out of the splashes of water, so that they are readily smothered. The excessive unsteadiness of a camel's footing in wet ground is the great defect of that useful animal. The Nawab Moorteza Khan, who is Jagheerdar of Pulwul, met us about halfway, and presented his nuzzur. He was in armour as were his principal attendants. The appearance was picturesque and showy. His troops, drawn up by the side of the road, looked very well. He wished to attend me to camp on horseback at the head of his cavalry; but, as I was on my elephant, I desired he would get on his, which I saw in waiting. After he had made many excuses respecting its being too great a liberty, he yielded; and I was pleased to see that he took two little boys, his sons, into the howdah with him. When we reached camp, he entreated earnestly that he might make a refayut; that is, that he might be allowed to feed the troops and camp-followers for the day. I would not suffer him to incur so unnecessary an expense. He would have had above 10,000 mouths to fill; for, although we have but one battalion of infantry, and one hundred and sixty of the bodyguard, a bazaar has attached itself to us large enough to supply the wants of any army. All trades, even working jewellers, are to be found in the camp.

February 8th.—The wet condition of the tents and baggage, with the fatigue of the cattle, required our halting this day.

February 9th.—Our cattle had suffered so much from the rain that the Quartermaster-General requested another day's halt for them. Mr. Metcalfe returned to Delhi, taking Mr. Stirling with him.

February 10th.—The troops of Moorteza Khan accompanied us to the limits of his jagheer, which was near our camp at Buncharee, a village in the vicinity of Hoorool. There we were met by Ahmud Buksh Khan at the head of his little force. I have mentioned him at Moradabad; and I was really glad to see him again, as the frank manliness of his manners had struck me much. He seemed no less pleased at the meeting. I gave audience today to Irteza Khan and his nephew, Yakoob Ali Khan, persons of family residing at Delhi.

February 11th.—We set out for Chattah. Ahmud Buksh Khan with his troops escorted us. As we approached the camp, his oont-suwers (camel-riders) went ahead of us. They are armed with a large blunderbuss fixed on a swivel on the pommel of the saddle. With this artillery they gave us a salute as we passed. One of the blunderbusses burst, and hurt the chin of the poor fellow who fired it. I ordered the surgeon of the bodyguard to attend him and sent the man some money. The manner in which this little attention, though there is not one of our countrymen who would have omitted it, was felt by Ahmud Buksh's soldiers, gives reason to suspect that under such accidents the natives receive but poor commiseration from their own people. It shows also that there is such a propensity in them to over-rate every act of kindness from persons in high station, as may make one wonder that the general run of princes stand so moderately in favour with the multitude. I had here a durbar to receive Rajah Puddun Sing, a man of great respectability, and Zoolfecar Ali, vakeels from Rao, Rajah of Macherry. They brought presents of much richness and nice selection, and were extraordinarily gratified when I made observations on the elegance of pattern or delicate workmanship of any of the articles. This trifling urbanity, which they have been rarely accustomed to meet, is not thrown away. Our people are too dry with the natives. The latter give us high credit for justice, but I fear they regard us in general as very repulsive. Ahmud Buksh Khan, in armour as being on my guard, Moorteza Khan with his family, Fyze Oolla Beg Khan

and his son Nukshbund Khan, attended the durbar, and we had cheerful conversation.

February 12th.—Fyze Oolla Beg Khan escorted us to Chomah with his troops. Each of these jagheerdars maintains out of pride a much greater number of soldiers than that to which he is bound by the tenure of his jagheer. It is a disposition useful to us; for these feudatories are ready and active in employing their men to repress tumults, or disperse predatory gangs in our territories on the call of the magistrate. Mr. Turner, Mr. Wright and Mr. McSween have here met us from Agra. Divine service as usual.

February 13th.—We marched to Bindrabund. After breakfast, we went from our camp, about a quarter of a mile from the walls, to see the temples of this sacred city. It is esteemed the birth-place of Krishna, though other spots have contested that honour. The oldest of the temples is quite gone to ruin. The vestiges do not even enable one to make out what it has been; but a special sanctity is attached to the ground within the walls which surround the space where it stood. Numerous priests attend it. Their time is principally occupied in feeding a prodigious number of monkeys which inhabit the ruins. Another temple, which has been of much superior magnificence, exhibits interesting remains. It is built of a red stone resembling a coarse marble. Much labour in carving, though little elegance of architecture, has decorated the outside. The interior of the building reminds one strikingly of our old cathedrals. The figure of Krishna, richly dressed, occupies the chancel. The distribution and many of the ornaments of the body of the church have much connexion with what we see in our antique Gothic edifices. This is upon the best scale of any building I have seen appropriated to Hindoo purposes. It is probably the work of Affghans who, prior to the time of Mohamed, embraced the religion of the country which they conquered. From this temple we went to visit the mesjid or mosque built by Aurungzebe on the spot where Krishna was born. A Hindoo temple of peculiar fame and sanctity identified the position

of that interesting event. It is an elevated knoll, commanding the town and adjacent country. The intolerant Moslem levelled the temple and built on its site a heavy mosque of red stone, which though apparently much neglected, through the indifference of Krishna and his devotees, remains unharmed. The more modern piety of the Hindoos has been active in raising here buildings called thoongs, which, though receptacles for one or other of the deities of their mythology, are rather monuments to a parent or ancestor. Himmüt Bahadur's and the Bhurtpore Rajah's are good. The course of people to this city is astonishing. It is a great object of pilgrimage. Of course, a multitude of Brahmins may be found in attendance, and the swarms of fakeers are immense. The disgusting nudity and gross impudence of the latter are extraordinarily offensive, though to us peculiar respect was shown. The account which Mr. Turner, the magistrate, has given me of the vice and bestiality of the fakeers is shocking. As the place is under his jurisdiction his information must be sure; and he is of too mild and conscientious a character to throw a loose imputation on any description of men.

February 14th.—We marched, and encamped about a mile to the east of Muttra. After breakfast I examined the ground, and had the satisfaction of finding it no less suitable to my purpose than the general position of the place is advantageous as a station for a division of troops which I have meditated fixing here. Mr. Strachey, Resident at the court of Scindiah, met us here. He has told me that Scindiah was much perplexed, and evidently checked, by the rapidity with which we had collected force, but that His Highness did not appear alarmed, being satisfied that we should not break the treaty and attack him, unless he were guilty of some overt act against us. Mr. Strachey is deeply impressed with the conviction of Scindiah's mischievous disposition, and is persuaded he will not forego the opportunity, if serious reverses in the Gorkha war shall lay us under any embarrassments. That opening will not occur. We may not be able to achieve all that I could wish to effect against the Nepaulese

Government; but I have taken care to furnish such plentitude of force in every quarter, that nothing untoward beyond simple failure in an object can take place. There is not room for anything disastrous; and accommodation may always be arranged with the appearance of superiority on our side. The remoter consequences of such a pacification would be deeply injurious; therefore every nerve must be strained to circumscribe the Gorkha power effectually; but Scindiah has let slip his time. Though he might still distress us severely, he cannot now play the stake without risking his own ultimate ruin. In the evening, I looked at the handful of infantry remaining here. The 1st battalion of the 1st Regiment made a good review. The new-raised battalion of the 30th had not yet got its arms or clothing; but I was glad to see that the men were good and well brought forward in marching.

February 15th.—At the distance of about a mile from the cantonment, the land rises, and the level is then continued to an undefined extent. On that higher ground, I this morning reviewed the 1st regiment of cavalry commanded by Major Watson. It is in very good order, but extremely weak. The establishment of the cavalry is altogether too low. With the ordinary course of casualties they must soon dwindle to inefficiency in the field. In the middle of the day I went into the town. We were first led to the ghauts, which present nothing remarkable. Passing from them along a dirty, neglected path on the bank of the river, amid many cells of sanctity, and many filthy devotees, we reached the temple of Bul Deo. This is a shrine of superior celebrity. The building, however, is poor. Though it is said to be very ancient, I did not perceive in it anything curious in point of ornament. A pair of coarse shawls and a bow, which had been placed on the knees of the image, were presented to me. It was intimated that this was to be considered as a testimony of peculiar respect. This hint was of course to regulate the scale of the expected return. The latter appeared quite satisfactory to the attendants of the temple, who followed me, and begged that I would take some little cakes of sugar to throw among the crowd. We thence went to see a large

mosque which has fallen much into decay. It has been a handsome structure. The front and minarets had been gaudily decorated with enamelled tiles. The colour of those which remained were vivid, and the effect must have been pleasing while the patterns were unbroken. I spoke to the magistrate about some repairs to the edifice; not as to the minor ornaments, which would be very expensive, but to keep up the frame of the fabric; in particular, to preserve the fine flight of stairs which led to the court in front; suggesting to the magistrate that the disposition of Government to contribute somewhat towards preventing the further dilapidation of the building might, if mentioned, encourage the Mussulmans to come forward and subscribe for its restoration. I was answered that although they had a bigoted attachment to their creed, they would have no feeling to any proposition for repairing their place of worship. I have, indeed, observed with surprise the singular indifference which seems to exist among the inhabitants of this country, whether Hindoos or Mohamedans, with regard to the condition of any edifices belonging to their respective sects. I directed that what was necessary for keeping the building secure against the progress of injury should be executed.

February 16th.—Marched to Furrâh; having determined to take this route instead of the direct line to Agra in order to see the ruins of Futtehpore Sikri.

February 17th.—Encamped at Utchnara. The country through which we have passed this day and yesterday is populous and well cultivated. Mr. Strachey had his hawks with him, and we had some good flights at the *ibis igneus*, called here the black curlew. Though upon near inspection the feathers of this bird have a varying gloss of purple, green, and gold, uniform black is the only colour perceivable at a little distance; so that the Linnæan name affords a very inaccurate description.

February 18th.—Reached Futtehpore Sikri. It is the ruin of a town which the Emperor Akbar founded. His object was to have a residence in the vicinity of good hunting ground,

and he probably overlooked the consequence of collecting a considerable population; namely, that the cultivation and communications which its wants would produce must drive from its neighbourhood the beasts of chase. This particular spot, one may assume, was fixed upon for the city on account of a considerable abrupt elevation which offered an airy position for the palace. This knoll is apparently of the same quality with minor ones outside the wall whence the red stone of which all the edifices are built has been quarried. The walls, which are high and handsome, and flanked with towers at proper distances, are of this stone. They exhibit but little decay. In the afternoon we went into the city. The passing through a gateway in good repair, and then finding yourself in an extensive waste of ruins, had an impressive effect. I know not that I have ever felt the sense of desolation more strongly. In every direction the heaps of red stone testified that edifices of no mean class had existed there, and must have been tenanted by busy agents, though no descendants of such a population remained. We mounted the hill, passing through the remnants of many gateways. Never did I see buildings better calculated for duration than those which surrounded us. They were constructed of large blocks of stone so carefully squared that even without cement they would have appeared secure in their positions. The roofs have been chiefly flat domes. All was solidity. Yet these buildings are universally deserted, and most of them ruinous. Having gained the summit, we passed through two guard courts. The comfort of the soldiery had been well consulted by a verandah covered with a penthouse of very large stone slabs, which surrounded the interior of the courts. Thence we advanced to a building said to have been the Emperor's private apartments. It is a tolerably large, but not magnificent, square house standing insulated. The choicest of the red stone (and those pieces appear as hard as marble) has been selected for this structure. In consequence, it shows no symptom of decay. On each side of the entrance door there is a stone covered with the interlaced triangles, the distinctive mark of the royal arch masons. These are on too large a scale, and hold too prominent a situation, to have

been put in without permission by any of the workmen. I did not discover in any other part of these buildings, nor have I met elsewhere in India, a masonic emblem. The rooms within are small, and the staircases (for the house has two stories) are narrow and steep; and as is the case in all the buildings I have seen in this country, the walls are so massive that the residence was probably cool. No kind of hangings could have been used in the rooms, for they would have concealed the extraordinary labour, and indeed taste, with which the stones have been wrought. Many of the patterns and traceries are highly worthy of being adopted in our ornamental architecture. I took measures to have copies from the most striking of these. The stables adjoining to this building are convenient, but without any aim to show. As much may be said of the hall of audience. A covered gallery by which the women were to reach a latticed turret or summer-house near the bottom of the hill is rather curious. It is not one flight of steps, but there is a length of passage, then a number of steps, then passage again, and so on till the descent is effected. The passages are supported by buildings which probably lodged servants. We returned to our camp much gratified.

February 19th.—We returned to the city to visit a part where life and flourishing condition displays itself amidst devastation. This is an establishment kept up in honour of a Mohamedan saint. Cheisty Selim is buried there. A large landed estate is left, by the piety of successive emperors, to the saint's family, on the condition of their keeping up his tomb, and the buildings connected with it. The British collector, as a part of his public duty, looks to the state of these buildings, and gives due admonition to the family if any neglect appear. Thence everything is in perfect order. Winding through narrow paths, among the heaps of rubbish, we came in front of a noble portal. This entrance to the building is truly magnificent, and is elegant also. Passing through it, you find yourself in a vast quadrangle. An arched piazza runs all round it, into which a number of cells open. These are destined to lodge devotees, who at particular

times come in crowds to prostrate themselves at the shrine. Above the piazza there is a terraced walk, which, with a good parapet, renders the building a place of strength. From the top of the gateway tower the eye ranges over a vast expanse of plain without a feature. The tomb of the saint, within the quadrangle, is surrounded by a light building, consisting of beautiful screens of white marble, wrought to imitate network. The effect is admirable. No reluctance was shown by the Moslems to let us approach as near as we pleased to the tomb. The attendants took from it, and presented to me, the muslin wrapper of a turban, some common-place glass beads, some cakes of sugar, and a bow. They took care to inform me that this was a compliment only paid to sovereigns. Of course, my return of presents was to be proportioned to this factitious measurement. The Rajah Rundhur Sing, of Bhurtpore, came and encamped within half a mile of us this morning. The failure of the British army, under Lord Lake, in different assaults on Bhurtpore (so circumstanced as that there was not a possibility of success), impressed the Rajah with the suspicion that there must be a rankling and irremovable animosity against him on the part of our Government, and some peevish differences between him and a magistrate of ours strengthened his notion that we must be in watch for the opportunity of striking at him. His vakeels, who had been sent to me with the ordinary compliments on my coming into the Upper Provinces, had been assured that none of that acrimonious disposition existed, and that their master would be received with perfect politeness, if he waited on me. The vakeels, from what they saw of our habits, were thoroughly satisfied that this declaration was sincere, and strongly urged their master to put himself on a footing of confidence by coming to me. Their advice prevailed. The Rajah asked leave to meet me, and this was the place appointed, as being the place nearest to his dominions. I have learnt that, as the hour approached, his fears began to stir a little, and that he has brought with him 5,000 of his best troops, to secure him against treachery. There is no mode of correcting this spirit but by treating it with entire indifference; therefore, I did not allow my weak escort of

one battalion and 100 cavalry of the bodyguard to appear to take any additional precaution. I apprized the Rajah that I would receive him at three o'clock, and he came accordingly, with a splendid and numerous suite. He was accompanied by Cooar Durjan Laul, his nephew and adopted son; by Cooar Madhoo Sing, younger brother of the former; by Foujdar Churamun, his minister; and by Foujdar Motee Ram and Dewan Jewahur Laul, the vakeels who had formerly been sent to me. Though I met him with frank kindness, his embarrassment was apparent. When he was seated, I resolved to apply a decisive medicine to his doubts. I professed my satisfaction at meeting him. I said it would be a gross injustice to the British character were any one to imagine that, from our having been foiled at Bhurtpore, we were capable of an unworthy sentiment towards those who had gallantly resisted us. I professed that we knew how to honour valour, though exercised against ourselves; that I rejoiced in making personal acquaintance with men who had so proved their martial quality; and that I would depend on their showing as much intrepidity by my side, if I solicited their assistance, as they had done against us. The relief which this tone seemed to give to all the principal persons was extraordinary. The Rajah became immediately cheerful and confident, pleasure beamed on the face of all his attendants and we parted on a footing of thorough cordiality. I am sure he will sleep better to-night than he did last night. We had divine service at noon.

February 20th.—I went early to return the Rajah of Bhurtpore's visit. We found his camp and his tent of reception very well arranged. His manners were frank and exhilarated. He told me that if I wanted troops for any service, while I had so many of our own in the hills, all his were at my orders, and that he hoped I might find his cavalry at least useful. I smiled and said that there might be a contingency in which I should take him at his word. I think he comprehended that I alluded to a rupture with Scindiah, for he said earnestly, "I would bring every man I have to you." We parted with at least this good done, that the

apprehensions which might have, contrary to his wish and his interest, thrown him into a party adverse to us were eradicated. The vakeels called upon Mr. Ricketts to tell him how happy he had been made by the language which I had held at my durbar yesterday. It had, they assured him, banished every doubt from the mind of their Rajah; and they asserted solemnly that I might now depend on his troops if I chose to ask for them. It seems the poor man was so frightened that he had made another considerable corps advance to within seven or eight miles of us, to aid in securing his retreat. In the afternoon I went to see a part of the palace which I had not examined on the first day. It was the interior of the zenana. Everywhere there was a profusion of carving on the stone, all well executed, and much of it affording useful studies.

In one of the courts, the pavement was inlaid with squares of black and white, to represent a chess-board, so that the Emperor might make the female slaves perform the move of that game before him and his Begums. Thus in this life we delude ourselves with costly and laborious preparations for amusements, in which we rarely if even once indulge ourselves when the arrangement is perfected. A detached edifice within this precinct excites curiosity to define its use. In the centre of an octangular room a massy pillar rises; a balcony or gallery surrounds the interior of the room at about two-thirds of its height. And from this balcony four bridges, with balustrades of marble wrought in the network pattern, lead to the top of the pillar, round which a similar balustrade is carried. It has been believed that a throne used to be placed for the Emperor on this space, and that he thence gave audience to petitioners. This seems wholly incompatible with the situation of the building, which is within the precincts of the zenana, and not concealed from the other apartments by any wall or intervening edifice. It has most likely been also the produce of ingenuity toiling at resources against listlessness, and wasting its efforts in inapplicable provisions. One quits this place with a mingled sensation of astonishment at the immense exertions to which the will of an individual gave rise, and of wonder that the perfected result of so much effort

(extraordinarily calculated for permanency) should, in a comparatively short period, have been so utterly subverted. Among the mounds of ruins in different parts, I observed a number of large slabs, with much carving on them, lying neglected. I requested the magistrate to have them collected and sent down to Calcutta; prohibiting however, the touching any which might retain their places in walls, although the buildings might be otherwise in thorough ruin.

February 21st.—We marched this morning. In order to examine more closely some objects which I had only seen at a distance, I quitted the line and went across the ruined city. We found the descent from the ridge on which the palace stood, and which we were obliged to traverse, much more steep on the further side than it was on the side next our camp. Such a path as there was for a considerable part of the way consisted chiefly of steps from one broken block to another. No animal but an elephant could have carried a rider over such ground. Ours proceeded freely and confidently, nor did any one of them make a false movement. It was interesting to see them try, by shaking with the foot, the stone on which they were to rest their weight, in order that they might be assured of its firmness before they quitted the balance of their last position. The first object of our examination was a kiosk or tower, whence the Emperor used to see the elephant-fights. The latticed turret, to which the ladies descended for the same purpose, is near it. The same ornamental carving, though not in as elegant a style as that which distinguished the other edifices here, has been employed in the kiosk. We thence went to an elevated pillar, hollow, and containing a staircase thickly bristled from the bottom to the top with representations of elephants' tusks in white marble. It is recorded that on occasions of great rejoicing three or four lamps were suspended to each of these tusks. Such an illumination must have been exceedingly striking. We took up our ground at Kirowlee, a village affording nothing remarkable.

February 22nd.—We marched to Secundra; and, passing

through a fine gateway, we found our tents pitched in the large garden which surrounds the tomb of Akbar. That venerable building is in a sad state of dilapidation. It gives one pain to say that this has not arisen wholly from neglect, though the consequences of neglect alone are sufficient to excite regret. This enclosure was unfortunately chosen during the Maharatta War for the station of European Light Dragoons. It was impossible that, without any disposition to injure the building, such a set of inmates could occupy the place long without occasioning much deterioration. The garden is a square planted with mango trees. In each face of the wall it has an elevated turret gateway, elegantly inlaid with different coloured stones and enamelled tiles. That by which we entered leads to the front of the sepulchral edifice, and on that account has been distinguished from the others by superior size and ornament. The part through which one passes is in fact a fine hall. The stories above this form tolerable apartments, and the building is surmounted at the four corners by white marble minarets. From each of the gates a causeway of bricks, covered with a pavement of different-coloured stones, leads to the tomb. This stands on an extensive base paved with marble, to which you ascend from the causeway (itself raised above the level of the garden) by three or four steps. The tomb is a very large square building of red stone. It is divided into three stories; the upper ones diminishing in size so as to leave a broad terrace. The uppermost is an enclosure of white marble open at top. It is in truth an arcade of white marble surrounding the ostensible sarcophagus of the Emperor. This is elevated on a platform of three steps from the marble floor of the court. The sarcophagus is very elegantly carved, and though thus exposed to the weather, has suffered little. The outer sides of the arcade are of that marble network (in great part) of which I have already made mention. Much damage has been done to this; and the pinnacles which crown the arcade have been let to go to ruin. The most extraordinary inattention has been the permitting trees, which sprung from seeds accidentally blown into cavities between the stones, to grow to a size which must make their roots act like levers for the

destruction of the building. I ordered these to be immediately cut away, and I directed that a solution of lead should be frequently poured into the chinks till it should be sure that the roots were destroyed. The basement story of the edifice consists of a sort of arcade, separated into parts and closed to the front in many parts by marble screens. In the middle, an elevated portal leads into a vestibule, which one can perceive to have been richly ornamented with blue and gold. The smoke of the lamps used by the persons who have tenanted it has nearly obscured this decoration. From this place, a sloping passage, lined and floored with white marble, leads to the interior of a large dome to which the edifice visible from the garden is the case or covering. Here, on the natural level of the soil, a marble monument, in the simple form affected by the Mussulmans, covers the real grave of Akbar. The veneration felt for it is lively, and the fragrant flowers with which it was bestrewed evinced that it had visitors who preserved an interest for the name. On each side of the vestibule a marble grating gives a view into a kind of chapel, where are the tombs of some of the Princesses of Akbar's family. Having satisfied my curiosity, I relieved another feeling, by directing the magistrate to apply immediately such repairs as were necessary to check the progress of this premature decay in the building, and to give the edifice a chance of the duration which it deserved. The memory of Akbar does not belong to a particular race or country; it is the property of mankind. All that can promote the recollection of one who employed power to benefit his kind, must interest man; inasmuch as the reverence paid in such a reminiscence says, "Go and do likewise," to those on whom the comfort of millions depends. The magistrate, Mr. Turner, told me that he knew not anything which would cause so much sensation throughout the country as the order which I had just given. He said that the gratitude for such an attention to the monument of Akbar would be general, though the sentiment, soothed by that attention, would never have induced the individuals to come forward with a contribution for such a purpose. To restore this pile to its pristine splendour would require an enormous expenditure, and would,

perhaps, be after all impracticable; yet even to the re-establishment of ornamental parts there has been a liberal advertence in the plan which I traced to Mr. Turner. It has suggested itself to me, that a useful watch over the building may be framed by building within the garden a range of modest residences for invalid native officers, who should be charged with the special duty of giving notice to the magistrate when any accident occurred which called for speedy remedy.

February 23rd.—Marching amid some ruined buildings, whose remains attested the former magnificence of Secundra, we approached Agra. It is well that it is understood a poet's fancy has no limitations, otherwise the accuracy of Sir William Jones as to "Agra's roseate bowers" might be called in question. Never did soil encourage less the expectation of a crop of roses than the arid tract outside the walls of Agra. Whatever hope might have existed that there would be some symptoms of gardening within vanished on our passing the ruined gate. Nothing meets the eye but the confused heaps of red stone which vouch for the former population of this celebrated city. When, after traversing this field of desolation, one reaches habitations, the mind is forcibly struck with the inferiority of the present mansions, because the remains of the ancient houses at least bear witness that they were constructed of a better material than mud. A pleasing attention was exhibited on this occasion. All the inhabitants were in their best dresses, and the variety of colours in the shawls and turbans, contrasted with the shining whiteness of the clothes, gave the crowd a very lively appearance. Having passed through the city, we crossed a small esplanade to the fort, by which lay our shortest route to our camp.

The massiveness of this building, which is rather a castle than a fort, excites one's admiration on the first view. The great height of the walls, the size of the stones with which it is built, and the excellence of the masonry, extort one's acknowledgment of much scope of mind in both the plan and execution. Within the gate, a pretty steep ascent rendered easy by a well-managed road, commences. It leads to a second gate, by which one comes on the parade, formerly the

principal court of the palace. This was encircled by its separate wall. The detachment of troops which occupied the fort, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cuppage, was here drawn up ready to receive me. Going out at the further end of this square, we came to the descent. It is a hollow way cut in the hill, and, as it is paved with large flag-stones, channelled to afford sure footing, it presents no difficulty for a horse. On arriving at the drawbridge, I observed the particular caution of an elephant which preceded me. He could not be prevailed upon to pass it until he had tried it several times by putting one foot upon it, appearing to throw his whole weight upon that foot, and to shake the bridge, in order to ascertain its firmness. Our tents were pitched at Nomella cantonment, the station of the troops, as being healthier than the confinement of the fort, to which a garrison, periodically relieved, is furnished. This position is nearly two miles from the fort. The situation has no advantage but airiness. Nearer to the fort, the ground is all encumbered with ruins. We went to see the celebrated *tâj*, about a mile from our camp. Our first view of this building had been from the top of Akbar's tomb, at a distance of not less than eight miles, when the dome, illuminated by the setting sun, had a most grand appearance. From the nearer position of our camp, the dome seemed to be of a size inferior to what we had supposed when we had seen it from afar; and this conception of its being somewhat deficient in magnitude, was sensible to me as I approached the edifice. One reaches it by passing through a heap of ruins and miserable huts. A handsome gateway of red stone leads to a parade, between two ranges of buildings heretofore ornamented, but now in miserable dilapidation, which were probably the residence of guards appropriated to the place. Having got beyond these buildings, one finds oneself in front of the principal entrance to the garden. This is a magnificent and beautiful gateway of red stone, particularly hard in its nature, inlaid with ornaments of white marble, or with slabs of the same, containing passages from the Koran traced in black. The great elevation of this gateway, its proportions and the style of its decorations, fitly prepare the mind for the noble object with

one is proceeding to contemplate. The garden is a square, divided by two avenues of mango trees, which cross each other at right angles. The middle of the avenue, which leads to the tāj, is occupied by fountains in marble basins. A full view of the tāj from the gate is intercepted by the spreading of the mango trees near the tāj. Nothing is lost by this temporary interruption of a distinct perception of all the parts. The pure white marble of the dome rising above these tufts, is advantageously contrasted with the green; and I felt my notion of a want of magnitude immediately expelled. On getting clear of the obstructions to a complete sight, one is filled with admiration. Many monuments of human skill and labour exist more vast and more sublime than this; but it may be doubted whether genius ever conceived and executed another fabric of equal taste or elegance. Written descriptions of buildings never convey any tolerable idea of them, therefore I do not undertake to portray the details of the tāj; but an outline may be given of its general plan sufficiently intelligible. An immense platform, if it may be so termed, of earth supported by walls of the red stone, affords a vast area, in the centre of which the buildings stand. The tāj is octangular; or perhaps one might better describe it as a square, the angles of which had been truncated and blunted. The whole of the building, dome included, is of white marble, which has a light brilliancy under the powerful rays of the sun, that makes it look as if it were in some degree transparent. Detached at some distance from the corners of the buildings rise four minarets of white marble, very tall and beautifully proportioned. They must be elegant, when they can be considered as fit appendages to the principal edifice.

Further removed from the tāj, but still on the esplanade, and forming part of the plan, facing each flank, stands a mosque of red stone. The rear of the esplanade or platform looks to the river. Either of these mosques, placed as a single and substantive object in any city, would be a dignified ornament to it. Here they are truly subordinate. Their being of red stone, and not of white marble, has been criticised. This cannot have happened through an erroneous economy,

much less through want of reflection, where such thought has evidently been exercised on the whole design. It has been the policy of the architect, and I am inclined to believe it a judicious one. He has feared that had the mosques been white they would have distracted the eye from the main fabric, and would from their distance have excited the notion of an assemblage of buildings, so as to have prevented the gratifying sense which now exists of unity in the structure. The mosques now look like dependencies, the character which they ought to bear; and, though of inferior material, they are still becoming dependencies. Inside the buildings, just beneath the dome, is the tomb of Nour Jehan, to perpetuate whose memory this splendid mausoleum was raised. It occupies the exact centre, the sepulture of any other person in this spot not being originally intended. The tomb of Shah Jehan, however, was subsequently placed close to that of his queen. It is said that the monarch had proposed building on the other side of the Jumna an exact counterpart to the *tâj*, as the receptacle for his own remains. A considerable embankment, supported by walls of red stone like that of the *tâj*, does exist directly opposite. A junction was to have been formed by a magnificent bridge. The whole of such a structure would have been grand beyond any ordinary scale; but I should doubt if it would have excited as much true feeling as the building in its present state. There would have been a bewilderment in the contemplation of it that would have prevented the impression of gentle admiration which almost every person recognises in viewing the edifice as it now stands. Whatsoever had been the purpose of Shah Jehan, his son thought the *tâj* the most commodious depository for the deceased Emperor and accordingly placed his body in a tomb close to that of Nour Jehan. The tombs are of white marble, of the simple ordinary form usual among the Mohamedans, but inlaid with scroll-work of sprigs of flowers in coloured stones, exquisitely wrought. A screen or fence of white marble open work, about seven feet high, surrounds the tombs. The carving of it, representing flowers, leaves, &c., is of the most perfect quality. It is further ornamented with coloured scroll-work equal in taste and execution to that of the tombs. An exterior fence of silver

once existed; but it was carried away by the Mahrattas. I cannot think its absence a loss. It surely could not have harmonized with the chaste simplicity of the other objects. In the vestibule, a staircase leads down to the sepulchral chamber in which the bodies of the Emperor and his Empress were really interred. A tomb exactly corresponding to that which is above covers each of their coffins. "And this is all the space you can occupy in this vast edifice," is an irresistible observation of the mind. The thought would not be less applicable to any living individual puffed up with the notion of the immensity of position he was filling in the universe. "I, too, have lived, and had a prodigious share in my ant-hill," would be the language of a dying pismire. I retired from the tāj, gratified far beyond my expectation, though it had been highly raised. The Maha Rana of Dholepore (anciently of Gohud) came and encamped near us. I fixed to see him on the morrow, rather in defiance of etiquette. It is the custom of the native sovereigns to keep inferiors, who come to pay their respects, dancing attendance for several days before they grant an audience. The trampling on the convenience of another is a distinguished proof of elevation.

February 24th.—I went early in the morning to examine the fort. Though of considerable strength, it is rather a royal castle than a fortress. The first sensation I felt in passing through its tall and massive gateways, was wonder at what had become of the race of men by whom such a pile had been raised. The magnitude of the plan, the size of the stones which composed the walls, and the style of the finishing, do not belong to the class of inhabitants now seen in these regions. So true it is that the character of a sovereign imparts itself speedily to all whom he sways. As long as the Mussulman Emperors preserved their individual energy, the people over whom they ruled were capable of proud and dignified exertions. But effort is contrary to the disposition prompted by a hot climate; and if a man do not expect reward for it in the notice of his superior, it is unnatural that he should rouse himself to it. The sloth of the later Emperors let down the springs of that machine which had effected the conquest of

India. The example and the encouragement to vigour of spirit failed together, and the apprehensions expressed to Timour by his ameers were realized. Their fears were that if they continued to reside in the country, "our sons will become speakers of the language of Hind." The phrase implied not so much that the Affghan race would forget their mother tongue, as that they would naturally be reared in the indolent habits and feeble sentiments of the conquered. The higher classes, in fact, became rapidly vitiated and effeminate; not so the lower orders. These lost, indeed, a sense of national pride, and that kind of information which is the joint possession of a people acting under enlightened and high-minded leaders; but the constant call for military service, to which they thought themselves born, has kept them from generation to generation individually martial. In truth, the Mussulman part of the population must have felt itself as at all times living only under an armed truce amid the more numerous Hindoos. Thence the attachment to the sabre has been maintained, and this disposition in the Mussulman has caused the Hindoo to habituate himself to arms in self-defence. This is what has occasioned the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, luckily for us, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line, these people require our guidance. Such was not the case when their forefathers built this fort. The help contributed by the multitude in raising it has not been mere bodily labour. The execution of every part of it indicates workmen conversant with the principles and best practice of their art. The Motee Musjeed, adjoining the palace, is a beautiful mosque of white marble. It has suffered considerably from an earthquake. As I had noticed several blocks of marble which had been saved from the ruins of other edifices, I had no hesitation about directing them to be immediately employed in repairing this fine monument of former splendour. I do not believe that the least sentiment of obligation will be felt by the Mussulmans for this preservation of a distinguished place of worship; their indifference in that respect being extreme; but it is befitting the British name that its government should not suffer (where it can

easily prevent it) the decay of structures which are decorations to the country it rules. Within the palace, there is a much smaller, but still elegant, marble Musjeed, which was appropriated to the women of the zenana. It is in good condition. The apartments of the palace are in a sad dilapidated state. Taste appears to have been consulted in them rather than magnificence. When one looks from them upon the narrow turret in which their sometime tenant, Shah Jehan, was confined by his son, Aurungzebe, one is forcibly struck with the recollection of the price which those despots pay in the precariousness of their fortune for the arbitrary indulgence of will which they exercise. The constant sight of those walls within which he had stalked supreme, and the perpetual hearing of the martial music which proclaimed the appearance of his supplanter, must have grievously sharpened to the unfortunate monarch the pangs of his imprisonment. The bath-chambers of the palace, lined and paved with marble, inlaid in the same fashion as at the tâj, are in a ruinous condition. The dome of one of them is incapable of being repaired without an expense which cannot be incurred; and whensoever it shall fall, which must happen soon, it will infallibly destroy all the beautiful workmanship beneath it. Anxious to rescue so delicate a specimen of art, I asked the collector and the magistrate, who accompanied me, whether it could be reconciled to the inhabitants to let that marble be transported to Calcutta. Those gentlemen assured me there were not ten persons in the city who knew of the existence of those baths and certainly not one who had the slightest feeling respecting them. The pride of ancient splendour was, they asserted, quite incomprehensible to the people, provided it were unconnected with the tomb: as to any sepulchral monument they pay superstitious veneration, though they would not contribute a rupee to secure the handsomest from destruction. I consequently directed the marble of this chamber, as well as the white marble basin of a fountain which I found in the artillery-yard, full of all kinds of lumber, to be raised and shipped for Calcutta, where they may be somehow or other employed as ornaments to the city. I would not this morning look at the Hall of Mirrors, because the expense of lighting it might be spared till Lady Loudoun

should be able to visit it. The arrangement of the ordnance and stores is good. What was formerly the great hall of audience is now the armoury, and answers the purpose well.

In the middle of the day I received the Rana of Dholepore, who came attended by a splendid retinue. His manners are very good, and he appeared exceedingly sensible of the courtesy which I endeavoured to show to him. At the close of the Mahratta war we sacrificed his interest rather too lightly to the gratification of Scindiah; and I wished to eradicate, as far as I might, the dissatisfaction which the circumstance must have produced. He lamented that the son, who had accompanied him on his march, had been that morning taken so ill as not to be able to come to me. On inquiring about his malady, we were told that excessive debility was the complaint, and that the native doctors who ascribed it to a malady in the chest, had been physicking him in vain for the last twelve months. I strongly advised the Rana to let the young man consult one of the medical gentlemen of our camp; and when he took leave he promised to counsel his son to that effect.

February 25th.—I went to return the Rana of Dholepore's visit, waiving the native etiquette which thinks that in paying that compliment expeditiously too much attention is shown. The poor man had come for to offer his respects, and I was, moreover, solicitous that his sick son should not be unnecessarily detained from home. Rana is a Hindoo title of sovereignty of great antiquity, and thence is held a higher appellation than Maharajah. There are but three or four chiefs who possess it, and there is a sort of reverence for the older time which prevents potentates of more recent extraction from assuming it. I found the Rana's camp perfectly well arranged, and his durbar was better regulated and more orderly than any I had seen—unless, perhaps, the Rajah of Bhurtpore's. His son, Phoop Sing, was introduced to me, as were his ministers and principal sirdars. A single rich chair was set for me under a canopy. I insisted upon having chairs brought forward for him and his son. To this he earnestly objected, saying that I was his sovereign, and that although I had ordered him to take a chair in my tent,

which his duty required him to obey, he must not sit in my presence in his own tent. I should not have noticed so trivial a circumstance were it not to remark the essential advantage of keeping up a tone of dignity with these people, so that a chief shall not be ashamed of admitting before his own nobles the right of the Company to command him. It makes compliance with requisitions a matter of course, without further consideration, instead of being a point to be deliberated upon. Any amenity of manner shown under that high pretension becomes a flattering favour, when it otherwise might not have been felt at all. Having subdued the modesty of the Rana, I placed him and his son on each side of me. Phoop Sing appears to be about seventeen or eighteen years of age. His countenance, notwithstanding strong marks of illness, is handsome and of amiable expression. Indeed, in the look and manner of the father there is a gentleness very prepossessing. I had brought with me Dr. Gordon, surgeon to the bodyguard; and I entreated Phoop Sing to retire from the heat of the durbar to another tent with that gentleman, and to explain to him without reserve all the symptoms of his disorder. The Rana now solicited me to let some nautch girls be called in, as his country was famous for them, and he had brought the best it furnished. Though nothing is more tiresome than such an exhibition, I was in politeness obliged to accede to the proposal. The ladies consequently entered, and displayed their skill. They were splendidly dressed for the occasion but were in nothing superior to those I had seen elsewhere. When I was about to take leave, a brace of hawks were presented, which I was given to understand was the ancient homage. The Rana wanted to mount his elephant and escort me to my camp, but I would not allow it. As a civility to him, I complimented him aloud on the appearance of his troops, who were under arms around us. He said they were not his but mine, on which all the officers and men put forth their best smiles of satisfaction. As soon as I had the opportunity of questioning Dr. Gordon about Phoop Sing, I had the satisfaction of learning that he thought the young man's malady radically slight, and that he attributed

the present feebleness of the patient entirely to the injudicious management of the native physicians. He said that he had prescribed a course of medicine and diet which he was sure would produce a very beneficial alteration in a fortnight; and Phoop Sing promised to adhere to it rigidly. In the afternoon I went with Lady Loudoun to the palace in the fort; the Hall of Mirrors being in readiness for our reception. Nothing can be better calculated to give a notion of Asiatic refinement in luxury than this hall. A multitude of coloured lamps suspended from the ceiling throw a blaze of lustre around, and the figures multiplied in the looking-glasses with which the walls are covered give a curious appearance of movement. Fountains play in marble canals and at the further end of the hall there is a singular device. A sheet of water falls in two cascades, one above the other, but the spaces down which it tumbles are the fronts of large glass-cases filled with candles, so that the light is seen through the descending liquid. The freshness of the water in some degree counterbalances the heat from the lamps. This is one of those places, however, the enjoyment of which is to consist in purpose not in practice; for I should think the Emperor, after having once passed half an hour in it, would feel little temptation to repeat the visit.

February 26th.—Divine service. In the afternoon, I went again to look at the tāj. Its perfect beauty makes repeated inspection interesting. I told the officer who commanded the escort of the bodyguard, that any of his men might enter the building, should they be curious to view the interior. Several availed themselves of the permission; and all who did so, on approaching the tombs touched the pavement with their foreheads. I gratified the attendants very much by ordering a new silver-tissue canopy with proper standard-poles to be raised over the monuments. That which now exists is completely ragged, and supported by shabby sticks covered with coarse red paint. The reverence shown by the troopers to the remains of the sovereigns is sufficient to show how a little attention of this sort will be appreciated. Again and again I say that men are to be gratified not by what we think

important, but by what comes home to their habitual feelings and prejudices, howsoever trifling it may appear to us. This is a policy sadly neglected by the British in this country, and the consequence is visible in the very little approach to assimilation towards which our long dominion over the country has led the natives. In regard to the tāj, however, Government had been laudably careful and munificent. It was in a state that menaced speedy downfall. Seeds of the poplar tree, carried by the wind or by birds, got into crevices of the masonry in the dome, and taking root there, were growing luxuriantly. The power of such roots of oversetting walls is well known, and the neglect of a few years more would have made the damage to this building irreparable. Justly alarmed, Government ordered the deracination of these trees; not restricting, however, its attention to that point, but liberally ordering the restoration of all that suffered injury from time or accident in the edifice. The repairs were found more extensive and chargeable than was apprehended; but the work has been done in the completest manner, both in regard to elegance and to permanence. I was told the natives greatly applauded the piety of the act, though they would not have done it themselves; remaining quite insensible to any merit in the preservation of the building as a splendid monument of art. Mr. Turner, the magistrate, informs me that in the Christian burying-ground there are several tombstones bearing Italian names, with the date corresponding to the erection of the tāj. This circumstance strongly confirms the supposition that artists had been procured from Europe to plan and execute the building.

February 27th.—In the morning, I went to the fort to decide on some repairs stated to be necessary. The readiness in which a battering train is kept here for sudden service, pleased me much. The provision is not advisable against bordering states alone; there is within our own territory an evil, to meet which one should be prepared. The constant obstruction to our police by Dya Ram's possession of the strong fortress of Hattrass, must soon produce a question on that important point. His just confidence in the strength

of his fort, and in the quality of the numerous well-disciplined troops which his large income enables him to maintain makes him forget that he is nothing but a jagheerदार and subject. He affects the style of an independent chief, and, to augment his revenue, as well as to secure aid from them, he gives shelter to bands of robbers, who pay him a tribute for the protection. This has been suffered much too long. A person in his situation, and with his pretensions, must through apprehension, be hostile to our Government, and the mischief is obvious which must attend the existence of a fortress in the heart of our possessions, under the command of an individual disposed to render it an invitation and an asylum for any of the adventures who may assemble armies on our frontiers. In the middle of the day I held a durbar. The persons present were as follows :—Goorghun Beg Khan, jagheerदार, who had a command under Lord Lake; Aratun, his son; Ibrahim Beg Khan, son of the late Nawab; Ismael Khan, connected with the Nawab of Pulwul; Rao Chootur Bhoja, formerly minister of Jeypore; Bukhshee Ralmochund, formerly vakeel from Jeypore to the British Government; Ahmed Yar Khan and Akber Yar Khan, sons of Khod Yar Khan, jagheerदार in this district; Neeamut Oolla Khan, who holds a pension; Wujud Ali Khan, Cazy of the city of Afira; Pillum-oo-Deen, law officer of the Court of Agra. They appeared all respectable and polished men.

At night we went to view the tāj by moonlight. It was well worth the trouble. The night was cloudless, and the moon shed a brilliancy on the pure white of the building that was uncommonly striking. The silence, the chastened light, the solemnity of the scene, all contributed to enhance the real beauty of the appearance. We lingered long at the spot, contemplating the object from various points, and when we departed, it was with a deep impression of gratification.

February 28th.—We bade adieu to Agra. In taking leave of Mr. Metcalfe and Mr. Strachey, I requested the former to take with him to Delhi the gaudy state chariot, as a present to the King. That it might be complete, I

sent the four fine horses accustomed to draw it, with their rich harness. As an article of convenience and splendour, it was the most striking that I could send; and I wished to show the attention, as I had so much shorn the pretensions of His Majesty to supremacy. From the cantonment to the place where our boat waited for us, the route lay under the walls of the fort. Just at the ghaut we saw the famous brass cannon. It is probably the largest, certainly the most useless, piece of ordnance ever cast. It lies, without a carriage, on blocks of timber near the ghaut, whence one infers that there was at some period an intention of moving it elsewhere by water. The transportation of it would not be difficult, but I am told that nothing would more painfully affect the feelings of the inhabitants of Agra than the removal of this gun. When we embarked, we did not go straight across the river, but proceeded up it about a mile to see the Queen's gardens. It was a favourable retreat of Nour Jehan. There are not in the buildings any vestiges of magnificence. The garden is subdivided into a number of square compartments by high terraces, which cross each other. These terraces, while they form the walks, serve to conduct to the different parts of the garden the water raised from the Jumna by a wheel worked with oxen. This constant irrigation produced verdure in the garden, when little appearance was left of it in other places during the hot season. The garden is now in the possession of Government; it is put to the national use of raising a quantity of forest or fruit trees, which are delivered gratis to any of the zemindars who apply for them.

Notwithstanding this facility, and the prospective advantage, there are few of the zemindars who will be at the trouble of planting out those trees. The fruit which we found in the greatest plenty here, was a kind of orange, the eatable part of which is almost loose within the rind. It adheres by only a few fibres. In point of flavour and succulence, it is by no means a good sort. Embarking again, we descended the stream, and landed near the tomb of Eatimud-oo-Dowlah, the father of Nour Jehan. It is the plan of the tomb of Akbar on a diminished scale. The ornamental work of the inside is of the same style of inlaying

with that at the tāj, but of coarser material and inferior execution. With regret I observed how much it had been suffered to go to decay before this part of the country came into our possession. On inquiry, I found that lands had been bequeathed to a branch of Eatimud's family, which still holds them, for the purpose of keeping up this monument. I directed the magistrate to apprise them that, if decent, repair was not from time to time bestowed on the building. Government would resume the lands as forfeited by the non-performance of the duty assigned. I hope the menace may have some effect. Our camp was very near the tomb, as the elephants, camels, and cattle from our former ground had a considerable circuit to make in order to gain practicable ford.

March 1st.—To Eatimudpoor, twelve miles.

March 2nd.—To Firozabad, thirteen miles.

March 3rd.—To Shekoabad, fifteen miles.

March 4th.—To Burawul, ten miles.

March 5th.—To Bikree, nine miles.

None of these marches have produced anything worthy of observation. The country which we have traversed is poorly cultivated, not having yet recovered the devastation which it suffered in the Mahratta War.

March 6th.—Marched to Mynpooree. The country has improved considerably in appearance, and at Mynpooree there is all the elegance of buildings which marks a British station. In the town there is a building asserted to be Hindoo, with a steeple so like that of many churches in England, as to give me at first the conviction that it was an European place of worship. I could not learn when or by whom it was erected. The body of the building does not correspond at all with this appendage. Probably some Portuguese in the earlier period of their intercourse with this country, has prevailed on a rich native to let him add

this decoration to the temple, which the native was disposed to raise. This day's march was twelve miles.

March 7th.—To Bueegaon, nine miles.

March 8th.—To Muddunpoor, twelve miles.

March 9th.—To Sookhraee.

March 10th.—To Futtehghur. The country had been improving in appearance latterly. As we approached this place, I was much struck with it. The whole plain wherever the eye can reach, is covered with luxuriant crops. Numerous and large groves of mango trees break the uniformity of the scene, and those at a distance form a rich background to it. The part immediately close to the cantonment is an exception to this statement. It is broken in an extraordinary manner by small ravines, not running in any general direction, but forming the most confused map of intersections imaginable. This tract is of course uncultivated, and nothing can present a more arid sterility than its face. A considerable protection is afforded to the cantonment by this state of the soil; for cavalry cannot approach but by the roads, on all of which there are narrow passes. The supposition that cavalry could reach a station so much withdrawn from the frontier may seem strained; yet it is certain from former instances that the Maharattas, and still more the Pindaree Horse, would be very capable of penetrating thus far: and probably their appearance on the spot would be the first notice of their irruption. A strong temptation for such an enterprise exists. There is a mint here for converting into our coin the various moneys received in the course of trade by these districts, and paid as bullion in the settlement of public demands. At times many lacs of rupees are accumulated in the mint. Our camp was pitched on a part of the parade, near the theatre. We have, however, this evening established ourselves in an excellent house, lent to us by Mr. Donnithorne, the collector and mint-master. It is extensive and convenient.

March 11th.—The young Nawab of Furruckabad and his brother came to breakfast. They had come out on their elephants to make their salaams, on our approach yesterday, and I had given this invitation as a compliment, which has been highly felt. The Nawab appears very intelligent, and shows more of education, both as to manners and information, than any native of his age whom I have met. The young men were much pleased with strawberries, which they had never seen before; I gratified them with an assurance that I would endeavour to get some plants for them. This fruit came from a garden of Mr. Donnithorne's and was tolerably good. In the middle of the day, I had a levee. The principal civilians were Sir Edward Colebrooke and Mr. Deane, commissioners for the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces, two men to whose talents and indefatigable industry the Company is extraordinarily indebted; Mr. Donnithorne; Mr. Wright, judge and magistrate; Mr. Newnham, superintendent of resources; Mr. Laing, secretary to the commissioners; Mr. Moore, assistant ditto; Mr. Christian and Mr. Traill, assistants; Mr. Reilley, civil surgeon; Mr. Blake, assay master.

March 12th.—We had divine service in the house. The Rev. Mr. Thomson, who had preceded us from Agra in order to embark here for Calcutta, had been accidentally detained. We have summoned the chaplain from Cawnpore, Mr. Henderson, to officiate here during our stay.

March 13th.—I went to Furruckabad to return the Nawab's visit. His guardian privately solicited through Sir Edward Colebrooke, that I would go on my elephant, as the young Nawab was not a good horseman, and it would not be proper for him to be on an elephant should I be on a horse. This weighty article was settled according to his wish. The city is nearly three miles from Futtehghur. About a mile from the gate, the Nawab and his kinsmen met me, making their elephants kneel in salutation. This ceremony being over, they hastened with all speed back to the city, that the Nawab might meet me at the palace.

I followed leisurely, and had a thorough view of Furruckabad. It is large and populous; but it has much more the appearance of a multitude of huts suddenly run up in a grove for temporary residence than it has that of a city. The streets are wide and were very clean. The people of any substance were all dressed for the occasion, and testified great respect. The palace stands at the further end of the town in the midst of houses; winding paths, rather than lanes, lead up a tolerable ascent to it. The Nawab met me at the gate, too narrow for the elephant to enter, and I was carried a few steps in a palankeen to a hall of reception. This has evidently been built by a European architect. It is spacious and lofty, commanding a fine view over the plain. There is a garden, well laid out in the formal fashion, at the foot of the terrace on which it stands. The airiness of this part of the palace, therefore, compensates for the manner in which it is shouldered by buildings on the other side. Thirty-one trays of presents were offered, but I would only take the plainest shawl that appeared among them. A message was sent from the zenana, by his mother, imploring my protection for the Nawab. They cannot in their notions separate power from the arbitrary use of it, and even their experience of us cannot make them think themselves secure against those oppressions which they were accustomed to undergo from the governments that preceded us. This family was desperately squeezed while it was under the dominion of Asoph-oo-Dowlah. They now enjoy in security a dignified opulence. The tone which I held on closing my visit was, I believe, very satisfactory.

March 14th.—I went at daybreak to examine the fort. It is one of the country mud forts, but of considerable extent. After this territory had been ceded to us, we brought forward a claim that the Nawab Vizeer should repair some damages which had, through inattention, accrued to the works after they were by treaty become ours. The Vizeer was glad to compound for laying down the sum which we said the repairs would cost, and an assurance was given to him (lest he might apprehend a second demand) that the money should

not be applied to any other purpose. As the cash, however, went into the general treasury, there was no particular impatience in Government to expend it on its destined object and it is only of late that an order has been given for the repairs. They are forward for the time employed, and the place will, for a less amount than that allotted for the service, be made of sufficient strength for any purpose which can be contemplated in it. The only utility of such a fortress is that in the temporary denudation of the district from the troops being employed elsewhere, it may receive the public treasure, the women, the civil officers, the sick, and the baggage of the corps in the field; all of which might otherwise be at the mercy of predatory parties. The fort is on a cliff above the Ganges, but that elevated bank is giving way so much from the current setting against it that it will be difficult to keep any regular face on that side; on the other hand, an attempt to surprise it from the water could scarcely be undertaken, as the strength of the stream would make the chances infinite against a boat's hitting its point in a dark night, the only time which could afford a hope of success to such an enterprise. The fronts presented to the land would require a good battering-train and much leisure, neither of which such an enemy as could assail them is likely to have. After breakfast, I had a levee for the native officers of the new levies as well as those of the battalion of the 4th Native Infantry stationed here. This is an attention which has, as I am assured, a very beneficial effect. The officers feel elevated by it in the opinion of their countrymen and the distinction is an additional motive for attachment to our service.

March 21st.—Nothing has occurred in the intermediate days worth entering.

March 27th.—Examining the nature of the ravines, I discovered easily the cause of their broken appearance. The soil is very full of konka, a kind of limestone. Though the konka is not in layers, where a number of the nodules of it happen to be together, they bind each other and resist the action of the rains, which wash away the looser earth. Hence

are produced those singularly rugged irregularities which mark this spot. The banks of the ravines are full of cavities which afford safe retreats to a number of wolves. The inhabitants have, however, a superstitious prejudice against killing wolves. They believe that wherever the blood of a wolf is shed, several other wolves of a peculiarly fierce quality will be produced from it, and will make it their special business to avenge the slaughtered wolf by preying on the aggressor or his family. Many children and some women are carried off every year from Futtehghur by the wolves, which come after dark into the very houses; and the people are always satisfied that some individual of the family, in which the calamity occurs, must have provoked their vengeance by killing a wolf somewhere. I had orders given to my own shikaree (keeper) to shoot a wolf for me, as I wanted to see if there were any difference between it and the wolf of Europe. He answered that if he could get a shot at a wolf while it was passing a piece of water he would certainly try to kill one for me, but that he did not dare to attempt it where the blood would fall on land.

April 2nd.—Mr. Henderson having arrived, we have had divine service this morning for all of the cantonment. The only place capable of receiving such a congregation is a large room under the same roof with the theatre. The vicinity is rather incongruous, but in this country one must avail oneself of the best resource that occurs.

April 8th.—A man brought some lizards of a species of which I had seen but one before. They are about a foot in length, of a dirty cream colour, the skin granulated, and the tail horizontally flattened. They do not show any activity, and never attempt to bite. By the man's description they live in a social way, a good many of them together, in mounds of sandy soil.

April 9th.—Divine service at five in the morning. Mr. Reilley showed to me a small kind of cobra capella, preserved in spirits. It has the spectacle mark very distinct

near the head : but Mr. Reilley assures me that this kind, discriminated from the others by its yellow hue, never grows to a length exceeding a foot. I take this to be what the Portuguese denominated cobra menil; though our people, misled by the natives, have been fruitlessly seeking for some very minute serpent of superiorly venomous quality which they imagine to be designated by that name. The natives in general believe all serpents to be poisonous, and have a current notion about some very small snake whose bite kills in a few seconds, though none of them can point out the kind. From the inquiries I have made, I understand the snake-catchers are not acquainted with any very small serpent that is dangerous.

April 16th.—I sent to the Nawab of Furruckabad two fine tigers, which I had just received from the Rana of Dholepore. The delight which this present gave to the young man surpasses all description. He told Sir E. Colebrooke the tigers were just what he wanted to have; but that they should be sent to him by the Governor-General was such an honour to him, in the estimation of the country, as would add the highest consideration to his family. We had divine service in the morning. It is always well attended, notwithstanding the heat. Many half-castes were present.

April 20th.—A Mogul, whose clear complexion, manners, and dress bespoke him of rank, had met me yesterday in my morning ride. Dismounting from his horse he approached me with a petition, which I of course received. On putting it into my hand, he said it was secret. I requested him to call on Mr. Ricketts for the answer; and I put the petition into my pocket. When I got home, it appeared to be only a solicitation that I would grant him a private audience in such a manner as would not attract notice. I transmitted the petition to Mr. Ricketts, entreating him to tell the Mogul that the conference between them would answer just as well as if I granted the audience. Mr. Ricketts has related the substance of the secret communication, which was to this effect. It was conceived that the misbehaviour of Dya Ram at my durbar

must have left on my mind the determination to punish that chieftain. His officers were exceedingly attached to his eldest son, and feared the young man might be implicated in the ruin of his father. They therefore proposed to fulfil all my wishes, on the condition that I would engage to let the son succeed his father. If I would make that promise, I had nothing to do but to advance, with three battalions, against Hattras, when the gates should be immediately opened, the corpse of Dya Ram should be laid at my feet, the fortress should be surrendered, and the son should take the oath of fealty. I desired Mr. Ricketts to inform the Mogul that if the British Government were disposed to punish Dya Ram, it was strong enough to do so, without resorting to the baseness of conspiracy and murder; ordering the Mogul to quit Futteghur immediately.

May 2nd.—An animal of the badger tribe was brought for our inspection. It is a native of the lower range of hills; and is called by our people the grave-digger from its habit of burrowing into places where corpses are interred, in order to feed on them. An uglier animal I have never seen. It is less than our badger, and the head not so much prolonged, of a dirty black and white, with a forearm and paw of uncommon strength in proportion to the size of the creature, to aid it in delving. It has been objected to those who maintain the doctrine of final causes, that they reason inversely; and it is insisted that instead of a certain conformation having been bestowed on an animal, with a reference to its destined mode of living, it is the peculiar structure of the animal which determines its propensities, and above all its selection of food. The position could not be exemplified more speciously than by instancing the shape of such a quadruped as the grave-digger. Supposing that shape accidental, a consciousness attendant on it of incapacity to overtake weaker animals above ground, or to escape from stronger ones would necessarily incline the grave-digger to seek its subsistence, and at the same time to ensure its safety, by pursuing creatures which burrow; in the course of which habit, its stumbling on the ample store of a buried body would naturally superinduce in the individual

the custom of searching for so convenient a provision. This argument, impeachable on many other grounds, would not account for the undeviating instinct with which different animals show an eagerness for some particular kind of food, apparently assigned to them by Providence, though they may never before have seen it. My children have a little ichneumon, which was taken so young out of the nest, that there is no probability of its ever having fed at that time but by sucking the mother. It has since been reared on bread and milk. The other day a lizard ran across the floor, the ichneumon darted at it, seized it, and devoured it greedily. The circumstance seems to have awakened in the ichneumon dispositions quite dormant before; for it ever since has shown a captiousness and a readiness to bite, of which there was not antecedently any symptoms. To look for buried carcasses may have been taught the grave-digger by accident; but it is still a practice linked to those propensities which seem to be the destination of his being. There appears a constant arrangement in nature for circumscribing the extension of species otherwise likely to become too numerous; and the function of the grave-digger is probably to keep within bounds certain races which breed under the surface, and which but for such an enemy, would pullulate too rapidly.

May 18th.—A native brought a number of black scorpions to show to us. They are shorter, broader, and flatter than any I had before seen. He had thrown them out of an earthen pot on to the ground; and when our curiosity was satisfied he collected them with his fingers and put them quietly back again. I could not learn that he considered himself secured by any charm against their sting, and it appeared that he depended solely on not provoking them by handling them roughly.

May 24th.—A wolf was brought for examination. It was said to be of full size. In that case these Indian wolves are not so large and powerful as the wolves of Europe. I saw no difference in other respects.

May 30th.—Observing a hyena which some men had brought, I noticed that one of its forelegs was broken; the men answered very quietly that they had broken it on purpose, in order to prevent the animal's getting away if he happened to extricate himself from the rope with which he was tied. There is a strange inconsistency with these people. They have great reluctance to kill anything; but short of putting it to death, they will without compunction exercise any cruelty on it. A day or two ago three guanas were brought. Each had its back and lower jaw broken to prevent its running off or biting. Yet these same folks exert themselves to preserve the lives of the pariah dogs (dogs that belong to nobody) on a particular occasion. Once or twice in every year, the magistrate here gives notice that on such a day parties will be sent out to kill all dogs found straying. This is done on account of the frequency of mad dogs. The notice is given that gentlemen possessing dogs may keep them tied up on that day; and the natives constantly defeat the purpose of the magistrate by enticing into their houses, and shutting up as many dogs as they can, though they have no partiality for the dogs and are much troubled by them at all times.

June 4th.—The King's birthday; but as the hot winds are still in force, there was no making any party for the celebration of it. I had the troops out on their parade to fire a *feu de joie* in honour of the occasion, this evening; though it was after sunset, the air and the ground were of a temperature almost intolerable. I always take a short ride at day-break, but even then the heat is great.

June 15th.—The Nawab Vizeer insisted on sending his son to compliment me on our success against the Gorkhas. This day Nusser-oo-Deen, who now has the title of Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, arrived at the ground allotted for his encampment near the new custom-house, about a mile from my quarters. He was accompanied by Agha Meer, the real minister (now dignified by the name of Moatummud-oo-Dowlah), and by Rajah Dya Krishen, the dewan. Their escort, suite, and camp-followers amounted to at least 15,000 persons. I should

have been rejoiced to receive the young Prince immediately, but the laws of etiquette in this country would not allow it. The minister and Mr. George Baillie, assistant to the Resident at Lucknow, came from Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah to ask leave for his waiting on me. I fixed that he should breakfast with me to-morrow. I received the minister with every mark of civility. The kind attention of Mr. Deane and Mr. Donni-thorne, in sending to me a quantity of peaches from their gardens, enabled me to make a very acceptable present of fruit to Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah.

June 16th.—The whole party came to breakfast; and the young Prince seemed unfeignedly happy to see us. He presented me in the usual tone of observance, with a sword, which, with a delicate attention to my former objections to costly gifts, was of trifling price. It fulfilled the custom, which was enough.

June 17th.—I went to return the visit, attended by all the gentlemen of the station. We were on elephants, which is here the highest state. Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah met us about halfway, with all his suite. We proceeded through his escort, many of whom had seen me at Lucknow, and seemed quite glad to meet me again. When we descended at the Prince's tents we went for a moment into the durbar, and thence to the breakfast tent. A party of the nautch women had been brought from Lucknow to enliven the festival. After they had performed some time with their usual monotony, a female balancer succeeded; and then came a buffoon representation of a Persian courting a Hindostanee woman. The latter character was acted by a Cashmerian boy, who took off with some acuteness the tone and manner of three or four of the nautch women. The women seemed much amused with his ridicule of them. When we arose from table we went into a tent where very handsome presents were laid out. At the upper end of it there was a portrait of me curiously arranged. It was a three-quarter, copied on canvas from the picture done by Mr. Home, at Lucknow; but the figure had been cut out from the rest of the canvas, and had been fixed on a

transparent gauze, which produced a very odd effect. I took a shawl, telling the Prince he knew my rule about presents. As the sun was high and strong when we parted, I would not allow Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah to quit the tents; but there was no preventing the ministers from seeing me safe home. Moatummud-oo-Dowlah said it would discredit him in everybody's eyes if I forbade his attendance.

June 18th.—I this day sent to the Prince, though in truth it was giving it to the Nawab Vizeer, a beautiful grey horse which the Prince Regent had bestowed on me. Any article which money could purchase would be but an insignificant present to a person in possession of vast riches. An English horse of such quality was not procurable for money. It was, therefore, a magnificent gift; but it was well merited by one who had lent to me (on my simple signature), for the use of the Company, 2,600,000*l.* sterling in cash; and I could be sure that the Prince Regent would applaud my having so disposed of his present. The simple circulation of such an amount of coin, all silver, in our own provinces, must be an extraordinary benefit to the Company's territories, and of course to the Company itself.

June 19th.—Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah and his party dined with me. Such a ceremony is an oppressive service at this season; but as there was much cordiality, it went off very well. Many of the Mussulmans in other parts of India will not eat with the Europeans, although they sit down to table with them. All those from Lucknow partake of the dinner without scruple, if they have a general assurance from you that there is no swine's flesh in the dishes. I observed that three holy men who accompanied Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah were as little scrupulous as the rest.

June 20th.—Moatummud-oo-Dowlah had an audience from me on business. He had caused the substance of the Nawab Vizeer's applications to be communicated to me beforehand that I might consider how far I could meet them. Luckily, they were in general so fair that my answers were

satisfactory. One of them related to a point on which the Nawab Vizeer had extraordinarily set his heart. Our district of Khyraghur is uncommonly famous as a spot for tiger hunting. The Vizeer, who takes with him on his hunting excursions nearly six hundred elephants to drive the game from all quarters to the place where he purposes to sport, was quite fascinated with the accounts he had received of the advantages possessed by this tract for his style of recreation; and he solicited the cession of it to him on any terms. The district is of no benefit to us. It is a long strip between the dominions of the Vizeer and the Gorkha territories, from both of which predatory parties are continually plundering our farmers, harassingly occupying our troops, and furnishing the ryots with an excuse for nonpayment of their rents. The possession is therefore a trouble to us, and makes little return to the Treasury. I told Moatummud-oo-Dowlah that I was highly desirous to gratify the Vizeer: but as I was the depository of the Company's interest, I could only act according to the principle of that trust. I said, that as we had expelled the Gorkhas from the low lands, which bordered on Khyraghur, a rich and extensive territory, including the part which His Excellency so much coveted, was at my disposal, and I professed my readiness, on the termination of the war with the Gorkhas, to make over to the Vizeer that territory upon terms that might be satisfactory to my employers. I represented that as the Vizeer gained much in point of security by the issue of the war, he would at all events probably wish to compensate us for our expenditures. Were a grant of Khyraghur and the conquered lands adjacent to be added to the former consideration, I conceived the Vizeer might be well inclined to wipe off one crore from the debt which we had recently incurred towards him. The minister said that he looked on the proposition as perfectly just, and that he had not a doubt of the Vizeer's cheerful acquiescence. If I can accomplish this arrangement, it will be a prodigious point gained for the Company.

June 21st.—Inteeanz-oo-Dowlah came to me, that I might carry him to the mint, and show to him and his party

the whole process of coinage. They seemed much gratified. They then breakfasted with me, after which I had a number of chemical experiments exhibited to them by the assay master, Mr. Blake. This seemed to be quite novel to them, and excited their wonder very much. I asked Dya Krishen if Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah had tried the English horse, as I had apprized him that it was perfectly gentle. The dewan answered, that the young Prince would not venture to mount it on any account without having previously received the Nawab Vizeer's special permission. In the evening I dined with Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, in his encampment. It is surprising how well children of rank are brought up to go through these ceremonies with patience and gravity. Nothing could be better than the manners of this young man. At table we had a repetition of the songs, the balancing girl, and the buffoonery, without the slightest variation.

June 22nd.—The written answers to the Vizeer's application were signed by me, and delivered to Moatummud-oo-Dowlah and Dya Krishen, who professed their conviction that the tenor of the document would be highly gratifying to His Excellency.

June 23rd.—Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah and the rest came to the audience of leave. I gave some presents for himself and the Nawab Vizeer, and I made my children give some curious articles to Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, in return for Hindostanee dresses sent to them from the zenana. Lady Loudoun likewise gave him a handsome present. On the two ministers I bestowed very rich khelauts. These, a heavy weight, were put over their ordinary clothes, and to Moatummud-oo-Dowlah there was super-added a fur cloak—a peculiar distinction. Such clothing, with the aid of a sword, with a broad belt thrown over one shoulder, and a shield dependent from the other, must in this broiling weather have made the patients pay dear for the honour, bestowed on them. They appeared, however, extremely sensible to the distinction, and waddled to their elephants with infinite complacency. The young Prince seemed really concerned at the separation, and

earnestly recommended himself to our remembrance. Dya Krishen threw out privately to Mr. Ricketts his anxiety to be freed from his office. From other circumstances I feared there is in the Vizeer's character a suspicion and a fickleness which make it difficult to serve him with comfort.

July 12th.—The rains set in some time ago, and have been more plentiful than usual. There is thence a keen prognostication among the natives of fertility. The ground is thoroughly soaked, and the ploughs are everywhere at work. While the hot winds blow, the soil is baked as hard and close as it is during a severe frost with us. Heavy as is the quantity of rain which had fallen, it has not yet been sufficient to make the general temperature of the air much cooler. The breeze, indeed, is no longer scorching, but the earth has been so much heated that the glow from it continues. For the present the rain is suspended; it is, therefore, a moment of great convenience for the farmer, who hopes to get his seed into the ground before a second deluge comes. Though with their miserable ploughs they can only just scratch the surface of the soil, they get plentiful crops without manure. By repeated ploughings they pulverize the earth very thoroughly, and in this rests all their confidence of what is to produce a beneficial return. Many of our people have supposed that this management may be the best suited to the soil and climate, and have imagined that our system of ploughing would not answer. They overlook the disproportioned amount of labour expended here on every acre, and the large quantity of seed required to ensure a satisfactory crop. I am satisfied that infinite advantage may be rendered to the community by the introduction of some of our practice, which the former here would readily adopt had he ocular proof of its benefit. Much good which might be done to this country is passed over, from an erroneous persuasion that the people are too obstinately wedded to their own habits to adopt any improvement from us; but in all unenlightened nations it must be the case, that men are not able to comprehend theories, and can be convinced only by what is proved to their sight. If these people remain rivetted to their prejudices the fault

is in those rulers who have made no effort for the diffusion of knowledge among them.

July 22nd.—A curious account has been given to me of a sect called the Saads, who inhabit a particular quarter of the city of Furruckabad. They have been settled here for about two hundred years, but do not seem to have any accurate tradition of their origin, or whence they came. In many respects they resemble our Quakers. They make no salaam or salutation to anybody, yet are respectful in their look and demeanour. Their religion is pure Deism. Distinction of caste is rejected by them, and they marry chiefly among themselves. Being strictly moral and industrious, they are respected by their neighbours of the Hindoo or Mahomedan persuasions. At fixed periods they have public meetings of each ward of their part of the city, on which occasions their particular articles of doctrine are expounded and inculcated by some of the principal persons, irregular conduct of individuals is investigated, and distresses not entailed by culpable indiscretion are relieved from the fund of a voluntary contribution. Although their manner is mild, they have not the gravity of the Quaker, but appear in everything perfectly simple, contented, and inoffensive. I do not recollect to have met with any mention of these people, and it is singular that a sect so strongly discriminated from the other natives, and so numerous, should not have attracted more notice.

July 29th.—Our short residence here has occasioned the circulation of a considerable sum of money in the neighbourhood. The advantageous effect of that addition to the means of the people around is very pleasingly exhibited. A great number of patches of ground which at our arrival here were in a state of hopeless neglect, are now under tillage. I allude to the little flat plots among the ravines. Remarkable industry has been shown in smoothing and rendering cultivable very many surfaces which were so broken as apparently to bid defiance to the approach of the plough. Much encouragement is undoubtedly given to activity in this respect. If a man will undertake to bring a spot of waste ground into

cultivation, the collector will grant him a lease for five years free, with a specified light acknowledgment for the succeeding three years. At the expiration of the eighth year, the collector has to agree for a new lease on the ordinary terms of the district. The result of such a bargain in England would be that the occupier would work the land to exhaustion, and then quit it. That cannot happen here; the land, without an appearance of richness, has a principle of renovation in it which causes it to be always in heart, if it be but kept sufficiently ploughed. Of course, the occupier at the end of his lease has from his experience learned to place such confidence in an ample return that there is nothing so far from his wish as to quit his tenure. In some English publications I have seen strong representations made against the enormous proportion of the produce of the land exacted by the British Government in India. That in many cases under the permanent settlement the demand is so large as to operate oppressively, I well believe, yet that is not to be charged directly to Government. Much oversight was committed in that arrangement which (as it was managed) was more specious than really beneficial. It was assumed that the zemindars were the real landowners, and that, commanding as such the attachment of the peasantry, they would insure the adherence of the latter to our Government if their own interest in the land were secured from precariousness or extortion. On this principle, the proprietary right of the zemindar to the tract under his management was declared, subject to his paying in perpetuity to Government a quit-rent, settled generally by the rate at which he was actually assessed. Where the payment was heavy, it was supposed the zemindar would indemnify himself by an improved cultivation or by bringing into tillage the waste lands thrown in without charge into the allotment assigned to him. It was forgotten that the zemindar was not the cultivator, and no protection was given to the ryot, the real tiller (perhaps the real proprietor) of the soil, against the oppressive exactions of the zemindar, whose actual dependent he was made by this settlement. In fact, the zemindar was originally nothing more than the contractor with the native government for the rent of a certain district. He resembled

the middle-man in Ireland. The indolence of administrations would render this contract generally hereditary. In many cases the contract was in some old family possessing the habitual reverence of their neighbours, and thence exercising considerable influence over them; but in many other instances the ruin of respected stocks had caused their place to be occupied by upstart adventurers, hateful to the people, and hating them in return. In either supposition, where the rent demanded of the zemindar was high, he looked to discharge it as well as to provide for his own maintenance by squeezing the ryot. He never felt an urgency for advancing money to bring the waste land into cultivation; the ryot could not engage in such a speculation when he was at the mercy of the zemindar; therefore little of the ground which was waste has been brought into tillage where the permanent settlement exists.

It is clear that the object of attaching the population of the country to you must have failed as far as this was the engine which was to effect it; and it is fortunate that there are many other circumstances which have had better influence. Whatsoever the burden may be, under which the ryots labour, where the permanent settlement is established, there is no such grievance in these provinces. Here, it is the real farmer who rents the land from Government. A due allowance is made for the slenderness of his capital. It is known that he must pay those who till the land for him by giving to each a certain proportion of the general produce; he must set aside the seed for the next sowing; and he must lay apart what is requisite for the subsistence of his family, before he can sell anything to furnish his rent. This district of Furruckabad contains on a round calculation about 700,000 English acres of cultivated land, and about 350,000 of waste; which latter must be to a certain degree useful for cattle. The arable land is assessed on an average at 4s. 6d. the English acre, nothing being required for the waste. This is certainly a moderate rent, for land which always yields two crops in the year and often three. Further, in any case where the crop fails, a remission is made in proportion to the deficiency of produce. In the districts of Bareilly and

Shahjehanpore the rent is still lighter. In each of these the arable land is more than double the amount of what exists in the district of Furruckabad. The highest average in any of the twelve large districts comprised in the conquered and ceded provinces is 6s. 4d. per English acre. That takes place in southern Goruckpore alone, and arises from this, that the waste (about 1,300,000 English acres) affords good pasturage, for which a rent is virtually involved in the charge for arable land.

August 2nd.—We had this morning an exhibition which was interesting to me. A cobra capella was brought that I might see it attacked by an ichneumon. The latter was young and wild, so that it was necessary it should be held in a string to prevent its getting away. The snake was lifted by an iron hook out of a basket and laid on the ground. At first it only looked about, as seeking in what quarter it might best escape; but when the ichneumon was brought near, it suddenly reared itself as if it recognised a mortal enemy, and spreading its hood hissed violently. The ichneumon had so little disposition to the contest that the people were forced to swing it to its antagonist by the string. The snake seized it twice by the back. The ichneumon did not appear harmed by the bite, but it became irritated, and advanced of its own accord to the cobra capella; the latter ceased hissing, and appeared to hold up its head as high as possible. The ichneumon sprang at it, and seizing the closed jaws of the snake between his own brought its head to the ground. In that state, he must soon have killed the snake had he not been so solicitous to make his own escape, that he quitted it and endeavoured to run away. I think it must have been fear that made the snake keep its mouth shut when it was assailed. I have seen a snake of another sort kill a large rat by folding itself round the rat and squeezing it to death, and I had imagined that to be the procedure of all snakes in such contests; but the cobra capella never attempted it with the ichneumon. The latter was dragged forward again to the fight. The snake struck at it several times; yet, what appeared to me very extraordinary, never

offered to bite it. The effort was a violent blow made with the head, of such strength as that twice when the snake missed the ichneumon the sound against the plaster pavement was very sharp. I nevertheless think the snake was in a capacity to bite, because he could open his mouth perfectly to hiss. The ichneumon's disinclination to repeat his attack was so decided that the combatants were restored to their respective baskets. I should have ascribed the impunity of the ichneumon to the thick wiry hair with which it is covered, and which might have prevented the fang from reaching the skin; Dr. Reilley, however, assured me that he caused an ichneumon to be bitten on the inside of its thigh by a cobra capella, and that he doubted whether the trifling transient inconvenience which the ichneumon appeared to suffer was beyond what a simple pinch of the snake's teeth might have occasioned without the intervention of any poison. To satisfy himself that his experiment was correct, he repeated it with another cobra capella and another ichneumon. The result was the same.

August 11th.—This morning I presented the colours to the first battalion of the 29th Regiment raised here. We made the ceremony as impressive as possible. The sepoys pay great reverence to their standard. The staff of one of the colours belonging to a battalion which has been serving on the hills was broken just before the campaign opened, and the commanding officer had it replaced with a new one. The battalion suffered in two unfavourable actions; upon which the native officers came to the battalion, and told him that the ill-fortune of the battalion had been foreseen, that there was not a man in the corps who was not convinced, they should always be unlucky as long as the new staff was attached to the colours, and beseeched him to let the old one which, from a presage of what had occurred, they had brought with them be mended, and restored to its situation. The officer reasoned against their superstition, but judiciously acceded to their wishes, and the old staff, duly repaired, was reinstated to the infinite comfort of the battalion.

August 12th.—This being the Prince Regent's birthday, we had a parade of all the troops in the morning. In the evening I gave an entertainment to all the gentlemen and ladies of the station, with the Nawab of Furruckabad and his brother. The illumination of the garden within which our house stands was brilliant and really handsome. There were above 50,000 lamps. This decoration is not here expensive: the frames on which the lamps are hung are bamboos tied together with bits of fibrous bark. The lamps are little cups of half-baked earthenware. About two inches of a dried stringy grass are fixed upright in each of the cups by a piece of moist clay, and then the cup is half-filled with mustard-seed or Palma Christi oil. The natives manage this with great dexterity. We had fire-works, tolerably good, but not with the variety common in Europe. A supper closed the business, and luckily the evening was comparatively cool. The best part of the day's arrangement was a pardon granted to some of the convicts working in irons.

August 15th.—We had a representation of part of the adventures of Krishna. It is performed by boys, who are much extolled for their talent in the exhibition, and who at the time of the Hoollee attend the Court of Scindiah, and other native Princes, to display their ability in this religious dance. On those occasions there is a successive representation; the history being resumed every night. We were satisfied with a detached portion. The part selected by the youths was Krishna's pastoral residence with the Gopees or Nymphs. The boys who acted the parts of those rural beauties sang hymns in honour of the juvenile deity, and often tempted him to join in the dance with them. The dance consisted in floating rapidly round a circle with the same step that is used in the waltz, only here each person goes singly. The inflexibly grave air of complacency affected by the representative of Krishna was remarkable. In the course of the entertainment he placed himself in the several postures in which one sees the images of the pictures of Krishna in the temples. Three centuries ago in England,

representations of passages in the life of Christ formed part of the Christmas amusements in the residences of the nobility, and in other European countries the religious interludes have come down to a much later day. Whenever the intellect has not been expanded, a necessity has been felt by the priesthood for speaking to the eyes of the multitude.

August 19th.—The Nawab of Furruckabad and his brother came to breakfast that I might take leave of them. I gave to the Nawab a remarkably handsome double-barrelled fowling-piece, light enough to suit his youth. He said instantly, "A present from you is a mark of kindness which makes my heart exult, but the assurance you just before gave me of your continued protection was incalculably more valuable." They are brought up to great readiness in these complimentary terms. To the younger brother I gave a pair of pocket pistols, and Lady Loudoun sent by them an elegant present to their mother.

August 20th.—We attended church for the last time. Our residence here has afforded the unusual convenience of divine service every Sunday, there being no chaplain attached to the station, and we have always had a good congregation. Mr. Metcalfe and Mr. Strachey took leave of us to return to their respective residencies. The former has told me that when the State carriage arrived at Delhi, the King was quite overjoyed, and anticipated the convenience he should find in being carried by it occasionally to his villa; his council, however, took the matter into serious deliberation, and their wisdom pronounced that not either the King or the Queen ought ever to get into the carriage. My present, therefore, is wofully thrown away. The principle of the decision is understood to be, that a carriage is the vehicle for folks of an humbler class, and thence beneath the royal dignity.

August 21st.—After dinner we embarked in our boats, leaving with regret a number of individuals from whom we have received the most unremittingly polite attentions. It is not that civility alone which commands my regard for

them. I have had the opportunity of observing narrowly the conduct of those persons in their several stations under Government, and I have been impressed with the strongest sense of their upright and active discharge of their duties. I have been long satisfied that under no other Government is there such incessant and laborious application to the business of the office. The humanity and justice towards the natives with which the functions are fulfilled, are no less exemplary. Where we fail is, in our want of any attempt to inculcate principles of morality into the natives, who are strangely destitute of any such instruction. This has arisen from a fear that we might excite in the people a supposition of our endeavouring to convert them to Christianity; but this jealousy could never arise from our putting into the hands of village schoolmasters small tracts of ethic injunctions extracted from the sacred books of the Hindoos. The Brahmins never make any exhibition of the sort to the lower classes, restricting themselves to enforce a blind observance of ceremonies.

August 24th.—Having sailed from Futtehghur on the 22nd at daybreak, we reached Cawnpore this day about ten o'clock. We anchored close to Captain Gilbert's (the barrack-master), where Major-General Marshall and the principal officers of the station were waiting to receive me; I landed immediately, and fixed to see the Native Infantry under arms to-morrow morning. I thought it unnecessary to expose the European troops to the sun, nor would I order out the 5th Native Cavalry, as I had seen it before, and as it is extremely severe on horses to manœuvre in heat such as reigns at present.

August 25th.—We have had a handsome line of seven battalions in the field—namely, two battalions of Grenadiers, the King's 67th Regiment, the 1st battalion of the 16th Regiment, the two battalions of the newly-raised 28th Regiment and the Golandauzes. My object, besides looking at the condition of the troops, was to see whether the officers understood movements with so considerable a line. Every-

thing was done most satisfactorily. Since that, I have had a levee. Gave a dinner aboard the *Sonamukhee*.

August 26th.—I went at daybreak to the race-ground to see a trial of a piece of artillery which I had directed to be constructed. It had occurred to me that a howitzer, capable of receiving hand grenades of the larger size, might be made so light as that a camel could carry with ease the piece, and the particular kinds of carriage which I thought applicable to the purpose. I had made Colonel Grace come over to Futtehghur, that I might discuss the matter with him. In consequence of what we there determined, he has had a howitzer cast and mounted according to the plan. A single man can take it off the camel and put it together in three minutes. The trial has answered my utmost wish. The shells can be thrown one thousand yards; and I never in any practice saw less deviation from the line. The case shot for this gun consists of forty-four carbine-balls. It throws them, with an elevation of ten degrees, 300 yards, completely in a body. In short, the invention has answered perfectly. As the camels will carry this little ordnance with ease at the rate of forty miles a day, this will be an important weapon against predatory parties. I am still more satisfied with my success in a trial to mount a twenty-four-pounder carronade on the carriage of a field twelve-pounder somewhat strengthened. This has stood proof thoroughly, and the carronade can thus be employed as a field-piece. Four bullocks draw it readily. Its shot will range nearly 2,000 yards. Afterwards I gave audiences all the morning. Had a large party to dinner on board.

August 27th.—Attended church. Breakfasted at Captain Gilbert's. Afterwards I gave audiences to a number of individuals, than which nothing can be much less amusing. The object of each is to urge some little departure from justice in his favour. In truth partiality has generally avowed itself in a very sturdy manner in the Government of India.

August 28th.—Sailed from Cawnpore at daybreak.

August 31st.—Having yesterday evening anchored about three miles above the fort of Allahabad, and there received the commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Haldane, aboard my boat, we passed the fort this morning. The breadth of the Ganges between Allahabad and Joosy, on the northern bank is very considerable, and the stream rapid. The Jumna, itself a large river, is received into the Ganges at the point of the fort; this junction not only produces no apparent augmentation in the volume of water, but in less than three miles below Allahabad the river is obviously much diminished, but there is not either depth or current in this narrow part to account for this dwindling of surface. A great portion of the water must undoubtedly sink through beds of sand immediately after passing Allahabad; and that supposition will explain the strength of the stream at all periods abreast of the fort. I believe that this is not an uncommon occurrence in rivers, though not frequently noticed. The Trent, at Newark, has evidently lost much of the water which it shows at Nottingham.

September 2nd.—Anchored about three miles short of Sultanpore.

September 3rd.—Had divine service in the *Sonamukhee*, after which we fell down to Sultanpore. Mr. Brooke, Mr. Salmon, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and Mr. C. Harding had come from Benares to meet us. They dined with us aboard, as did Major O'Brien. Major-General J. S. Wood had also come to Sultanpore, but he was seized with an attack of the liver which confined him to the house. I went to see him this evening.

September 4th.—Reviewed the 8th Native Cavalry, commanded by Major O'Brien. The performance of this regiment has pleased me the most of any which I have witnessed of the native cavalry, though it is not so well mounted a corps as the others. Indeed the state of all these cavalry regiments does great credit to their officers. After the review we breakfasted with the mess, and then embarking

fell down to Benares. Shums-oo-Dowlah gave us a salute of artillery as we came to anchor.

September 5th.—We went ashore very early to see the celebrated Observatory. Beyond the simple proof which it affords that astronomy was at one time successfully cultivated in this country there is little curious in it. The date of that proficiency in the science, referred to by it, is not remote. It is a matter of great dispute whether it was built by a Hindoo Rajah or by one of the Mahomedan Emperors, which marks the period of its erection to have been subsequent to the establishment of that dynasty. From the Observatory we went to the Mint, where Dr. Yeld had prepared for us a very interesting exhibition. In addition to all the processes of assaying and coining, he had collected a number of manufacturers of the finer articles of commerce to show how each was made. The extreme simplicity, and little cost, of the looms and other machinery employed for the most delicate goods, was peculiarly striking. After being much gratified with this spectacle, we proceeded to look at the minarets of the great mosque. They are high, and elegant in form; but they bear no comparison with the minarets of the Tâj. We got into our barge from the ghaut at the foot of the mosque, and as soon as we reached our pinnacles, weighed to continue our course down the river. I should not omit noticing the extraordinary narrowness of most of the streets through which we passed in Benares. Our palankeens could scarcely pass. The people were cheerfully respectful, to the great surprise of the magistrate and other gentlemen who accompanied us.

September 9th.—Moderate as is the distance from Benares, a contrary wind blew with such force as to counteract all the effect of the current, and it was only this morning we reached Ghazipore. Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll, commanding the King's 17th Foot, came aboard. I excused myself from landing till the evening. The Lieutenant-Colonel, some other officers, and Mr. Harding, the collector, dined with me. After dinner, I went to look at about 450

young horses, bred at the Company's stud. They clearly evinced the improvement attained in the breed of horses by that institution. Nothing is so erroneous as the opinion entertained in England, that fine horses are common in India. Even middling ones are rare and high-priced. The ordinary run are of very inferior quality.

September 10th.—Attended church, or rather had divine service in the riding-house. Re-embarking by eight o'clock, we resumed our voyage.

September 13th.—The wind having been adverse, it was not till this day that we anchored abreast of Dinapore. Major-General Need, commanding the troops at the station came aboard, with Colonel Watson, of His Majesty's 14th Foot, and several staff-officers. I invited them to dine with me, and declined going ashore this afternoon.

September 14th.—I reviewed the 1st battalion of the newly-raised 30th Regiment of Native Infantry. The men were tall and smart, but very lathy. The habitual moderation of the natives in point of food is strikingly exemplified by the speedy alteration made in the appearance of those who enter the regular service. The punctuality with which they receive their pay allows them to indulge in ampler and more comfortable meals than their earnings from any kind of labour would admit, and they thence attain a degree of muscle and strength scarcely ever seen among the peasants.

September 15th.—Reviewed the 2nd battalion of the 30th Regiment. Both battalions are well grounded in their discipline. I had a levee at the mess-room of the 14th Regiment, to receive the native officers of the new regiments, and of a battalion of the 18th, having had a levee yesterday for the Europeans.

September 16th.—I rode to see the farm and establishment of Mr. Havel, about two miles from the cantonments.

Everything seemed judiciously planned, and kept in admirable order. The principle of this farm is to breed and support stock to supply a very extensive sale of cured meat; he furnishes a large quantity of this to Calcutta, as well as to the upper stations. Lately he has undertaken to make wine, and from the sample which I have tasted, I think there is every probability that he may produce it of good quality. About three o'clock I anchored off Hadjipore, a little way up the Gunduck river. The scenery was beautiful, there being some height of bank and consequent feature. The width of the river, and its turnings, give our anchorage the appearance of being in a large lake. There is not now much stream, though at times it is rapid. Between four and five o'clock I went ashore to inspect part of the stud, the object of my visit thither. The brood mares were what I had gone to see this afternoon. Those lately procured from Katywaur and Cutch were what pleased me best. The Arab mares, though they have elegant shape, are very slight; probably they are of inferior races. The Persian and the Jungle-tazees have more strength, with good form. Those, however, which I first named unite more serviceable qualities than any of the rest. Having dined at eight o'clock with Mr. Moorcroft (superintendent of the stud) to meet a large party which he had invited from Patna, I returned to my boat to sleep.

September 17th.—I went ashore at dawn, and had a large number of colts and fillies, chiefly two-year olds, led past me. It was impossible to see them and not to be sensible how far the plan answered towards introducing a better breed of horses into the country. It appeared to me that the stock got by English horses was clearly the most promising. After that, those got by a Katywaur horse, called Runjeet Sing, showed the best character. The progeny from Arab sires was not as good; probably because there is not in the mares sufficient size to correct the want of it in the horses. The system now proceeded upon is a judicious one. Mares are given from the stud to the zemindars, on their binding themselves to forfeit a certain sum if they sell the

mare, or if she be stolen under circumstances justifying suspicion of connivance. The mares are to have the benefit of the stud horses gratis; and Government is to have the refusal of the produce at one year old for a hundred rupees (12*l.* 10*s.*); it is obvious how much the extension of this plan must forward our object of securing a remount of horses sufficiently strong for the cavalry, so as not to be left to precarious dependence on neighbouring countries, which at best rarely send to us horses of adequate bone. It was late before this inspection was over. I had so much business on hand that I was forced to decline breakfasting with the company, and I got back to my boat. It is really interesting to compare the shapes of horses of such various races. The English horses were, beyond any doubt, the best. I have examined here about 600 horses of various breeds and crosses.

September 18th.—I went on shore at daybreak to look over Mr. Moorcroft's accounts, and in particular to ascertain the average expense of each mare introduced from the different countries whence we bring them. I bestowed shawls, as a complimentary acknowledgment of their zeal, on some individuals whom Mr. Moorcroft pointed out as having used peculiar exertion in forwarding his views. I then returned to my boat and sailed for Patna. The wind being from the east, and the Ganges so low that there is little stream to counterbalance the breeze, we do not lose much by delay.

September 23rd.—The clouds in the east having for the last two or three days menaced the equinoctial gale, we had agreed to let it be spent before we should embark. This morning the gale came on with great violence. It was a fine spectacle to see its first burst upon the Ganges. Vast clouds of sand were whirled into the air from the banks which lay dry in the middle of the river. They appeared to be carried to a great height. Torrents of rain succeeded, and these showers have continued with little interval throughout the day. The intense heat which

reigned before this storm came on has been very agreeably diminished.

September 24th.—We have had divine service at Mr. Campbell's there being not even a temporary church here. Badness of the weather, which still continues, prevented many from attending.

September 26th.—There are still deluges of rain. Before this fall happened, the quantity had been greater than had almost ever been remembered. In Tirhoot, the ordinary amount is thirty inches; but this year it had reached fifty. No injury to crops is apprehended from this additional drench. The principal part of the opium manufactured for the Company is raised here. The management of the poppy is troublesome for the cultivator; but he is well paid for his labour. The rich soil requisite for the advantageous growth of the plant is let by Government at a high rent; but advances of money are made by the opium agent to the cultivators, and though they are bound to sell the whole produce to Government, at a fixed price, I have calculated that they clear about 4*l.* 10*s.* on the English acre. According to the usual payment for labour, that is a large return for their care and exertions.

September 28th.—The weather having cleared, and the wind having come round to the west, we have this morning taken leave of Mr. Campbell, a host who makes his hospitality sit light by the frank and quiet manner in which he exercises it. There is a generous turn in that respect among all the servants of the Company whom I have seen; but there is a tact which can give distinction in the observance of a kindness generally practised, and Mr. Campbell is fortunate enough to possess it. The breeze being fair, we made a run of about forty-three miles, and anchored off a village called Moah, near Derriapoor.

September 29th.—On account of some vessels which got a ground on a sand bank, we have anchored earlier than

we otherwise should have done, yet we have come more than fifty miles, and have passed the troublesome channels opposite Monghyr. The scenery has been fine, as we kept along the southern shore of the river, which is here about three miles broad. The rich plain of Bahar is so striking from its high cultivation, and so diversified with numerous mango-groves, that one does not perceive the absense of undulation. In approaching towards Monghyr, the Gorruckpore hills alter the character of the country entirely. They are not magnificent; but to an eye long accustomed to the uniformity of surface along the upper banks of the Ganges, they afford a pleasing variety. The place at which we have moored our boats is about a mile above the hot well of Sittacoon, abreast of some hills which appear composed of fragments of rock, and which are picturesque though completely bare.

September 30th.—We have run between fifty and sixty miles, and are anchored about a mile short of Colgong. Mr. Brooke, the Governor-General's agent at Moorshadabad, is come with his wife and daughter, to meet us. He expatiates on the disappointment which will be experienced by the Nawab of Bengal at our not stopping at Rajemahl, where he has convened all his elephants to show us sport. Our time, however, presses so much that we cannot make even a day's delay.

October 1st.—Had divine service aboard the *Sonamukhee*, before we sailed. Afterwards we made a good stretch to Siclygully, where we have anchored.

October 2nd.—Having learnt that the current was stronger through the lower passage, between the Ganges and the Bangrutty, than through the cut by which in our way up we had entered the great river, we determined to avail ourselves of the advantage. We have, therefore, come four or five miles beyond the cut, and have taken up our station for the night on the north shore, bordering on the plains of Gour. Though I am informed that the ruins of

the ancient city present scarcely anything to interest curiosity, beyond their vast extent, we should not have failed to visit them had it been tolerably practicable. The plain, however, is at this season so covered with reeds and jungle grass, as well as in many places so soft from the rains, that even elephants would have difficulty in working through it. Of course, an expedition of seven miles, under such circumstances, could not have been undertaken.

October 3rd.—We quitted the Great River, and were soon beset by fakeers, who, rowed in boats by a couple of men, came off from the shores to solicit charity. In the upper country I have met with many an importunate beggar, mounted on a tolerable horse, and attended by a groom. We anchored not far from Dewanseraï.

October 4th.—Passed Moorshadabad and Cossim-Bazaar, without landing. Anchored near the latter. One of our party saw a snake caught by a native belonging to the fleet, and mentioned to me the circumstances, which involve a point of natural history novel to me. The man was walking in a field by the river, and my informant was close to him. A large cobra capella crossed the path; the man immediately ran towards it. The snake did not coil itself, but continued its retreat with its head raised eight or ten inches from the ground, and turned back. The man stooped, pausing for an instant, as if to fix the snake's eye with his own. He then suddenly seized the tail with his right hand, and raised it sufficiently to throw the reptile's head to the ground; then he slid the forefinger and thumb of his left hand swiftly along the snake's back (drawing the animal back by the tail at the same time) till he pinched it just at the head. He next twisted the body of the snake round his left arm, and kept it firm by pressing the arm to his side. Having obtained a knife, he forced the snake to open its mouth, by pressing it at the angle of the jaws. He quickly took out the fangs; but he then proceeded to take out with the point of the knife, from just above the angle of the jaws, two substances, which my informant states to have resembled small pickled

capers. The reason assigned by the man for extracting them was, to prevent the snake ever getting new fangs. Can these glands—for such I suppose they were—placed at such a distance from sockets in the jaw, furnish means for the reproduction of the poisonous apparatus? I am not aware that the existence of such glands has hitherto been suspected by our anatomists. As to the mode of catching the snake, I believe it to be so easy that nothing but confidence is required. There has appeared to me a remarkable want of agility in the cobra capella, and I even think some time is necessary to it for getting into a condition to strike. After the man had finished his operation on the snake, he suffered it to bite him without concern.

October 5th.—Passed Berhampore without landing, and anchored near Putolee. Heavy squalls to-day.

October 6th.—Advanced to near Santipore. Mr. Paton, Mr. Burney, and Mr. Barnett came off to dine with us. We had a violent squall, with heavy rain in the afternoon. It shows that the season is not yet broken up here, though it had decidedly changed at Patna when we left that place.

October 7th.—We reached Barrackpore, where we found the buildings, which were to be completed in April last, still in an unfinished state. My children related to me with horror a circumstance which they had seen, and which my being occupied by writing in another boat had prevented my observing. As their pinnace descended close to the side of the river, they saw a wretched old man, whom three or four persons (probably his relations) had brought down to the shore. These people were holding the man's arms behind his back, and restraining his legs, while a Brahmin was smothering him, by filling his mouth and nostrils with mud. The poor wretch was struggling violently. It is likely that in the lassitude of disease, he had given way to the importunities of his tired family, and had consented to submit to this pious operation, which he did not find pleasant in the performance. The deed was done in broad day. So

far was there from being any attempt to avoid observation, that the spot was quite public, and there was all apparent consciousness of rectitude on the part of those concerned in the perpetration of the act.

October 8th.—Had divine service on board the *Sonamukhee*; after which we dropped down with the tide to within a couple of miles of Champaul Ghaut, that we might be certain of our time for to-morrow morning. It is requisite to land in ceremony.

October 9th.—We landed at six this morning; the members of council, chief justice, bishop, and a crowd of other public functionaries receiving us at the ghaut. The streets were lined by the troops to the Government House. There I had a public breakfast; after which I resumed my seat in council. There is an immense accumulation of business to be waded through; so that my occupation would be too little varied to afford matter for my journal for some time.

November 11th.—Received from Ceylon the news of the important victory gained by the Duke of Wellington over Napoleon at Waterloo. The guns of the fort have been fired, and we are planning a grand entertainment on the occasion.

November 27th.—I went to see the school and other establishments of the missionaries at Serhampore. Dr. Carey, Dr. Marshman, and Mr. Ward are the persons now conducting the concerns. They are all men of learning and skilful in various sciences. Their activity appears indefatigable, and its effects speak highly in favour of their zeal and judgment. The plan of their school is, to educate at cheap rates the white or half-caste children of Europeans in indigent circumstances; but they likewise receive and breed up destitute orphans. The wives and daughters of the missionaries are the teachers in the female school. The good management of the school at large is manifested, not only

in the proficiency and decorous behaviour of the scholars, but in the remarkable paucity of deaths which have occurred within the last seven years. The printing-house is conducted with great ability. The gentlemen showed to me specimens of the Scriptures in the languages and characters following :— Sanscrit, Hindostanee, Mahratta, Ooriya, Bengalee, Punjabee, Telinga, Burmah, Cashmeer, Assam, Pushtoo, Beloochee, Carnatee, Brig Bhasha, Chinese, Persian, Tamul, Cingalese, Arabic, Armenian, and Malay. The missionaries make the paper and cast the types within their own establishment. It was striking to see the number of natives learned in those several tongues translating the Scriptures into them. This is ordinarily effected by one of the missionaries rendering the English into some middle dialect which they mutually understand, whence it is turned by the Asiatic into his own language. One circumstance was very curious. Dr. Carey, the principal of the establishment, mentioned to me that the Affghans asserted themselves to be descendants of expatriated Jews. In confirmation, he put the question in Hindostanee (that I might comprehend what passed) to an Affghan Moolavie, who distinctly maintained the fact as preserved by tradition among them. He was particular in distinguishing that they were Beni-Israel, not Beni-Jehoudah. The distance does not render it impossible that the tribes should have been marched from Palestine to Cabul; and from the remotest time we trace among the Asiatic despots the practice of removing whole communities from their ancient habitations to people some unsettled country. Making progress only part of the year and resting during the season unfit for marching, this multitude would be long in reaching its destination, but would ultimately effect without having undergone much inconvenience. The habit which we have witnessed in this country of large bodies living perpetually in tents, and migrating with their cattle and furniture, explains the facility of this operation. Any one who has seen the distribution of property and the nature of cultivation in India will readily comprehend how little burdensome the passage or the temporary halt of such a host (controlled, as we may suppose it, by officers appoint-

ed to guide its march) would be to the intervening territories.

December 11th.—An account has been detailed to me of a woman's having recently burned herself with the body of her husband, near Barrackpore. This is an event so very common as to produce no sensation in the neighbourhood, and it is by mere chance that any European, other than the magistrate, hears of it. To the latter information is given in the course of his business, but generally some days after the occurrence. Climate requires the corpse to be burned so speedily after death that there is no time for previous notice; and the magistrate only knows of it, when a woman sacrifices herself with the body, in consequence of the report from some of his native policemen, whose duty it is to attend on such occasions that the woman may be rescued, should she appear to be acting under compulsion, or should she change her mind from fright. Cause for this intervention (the only degree of obstruction which our Government has thought allowable) has happened but very rarely. The merit and dignity of the act are so continually inculcated by the Brahmins, that these poor ignorant victims are bewildered by indistinct notions of piety and sublimity. The hapless creatures are peculiarly exposed to the operations of the delusive sentiments so studiously instilled into them. The charities of life are here so little exercised, or indeed comprehended, that a woman has, on the death of her husband, the most disconsolate prospect. The son's wife, or perhaps her own married daughter, becomes legally mistress of the house, and the widow, degraded into a kind of servant, is usually treated with tyrannical impatience as a burden on the family. The existence of the women is at all times dreary. They have none of that society with their nearest neighbours which cheers even the lowest classes in Europe. They have not either mental food or domestic occupation to fill their time in their almost unbroken confinement within their dark, inconvenient dwellings. Their incapacity to instruct their children precludes the amount of resource which that would afford, so that their minds are in complete stagnation, and

suffer all the irksome lassitude of such a state. A licit excuse for breaking forth from that torpidity is, therefore, to them a fascinating opportunity; and when they give way to the impulse, they do it with an exaggeration arising from their being unaccustomed to measure an exertion of their spirits. The death of their husband sanctions a vehemence of energy which is a relief to the saddened heart. The woman has been taught that it is praiseworthy to encourage herself in the intoxication, and she does so, enjoying too much the novel pleasure of it to look aside. In this temper she professes the resolution of immolating herself on the funeral pile. Should she recede when she has once made the declaration, the utmost degree of public shame and opprobrium attaches not only to the woman but to her family; so that her own dread of disgrace, and still more the instigations of her kin, will operate almost irresistibly to prevent her from faltering. But she has in truth no time for her passion to subside. The preparations for burning the body of the deceased are very simple, and are made with the utmost dispatch. Often not more than two or three hours elapse. The intended ceremony is not frequently known in the next village, whence there is rarely any concourse of people at it. Should the woman's spirits appear to flag, she is aided by bang, or some other intoxicating drug. Indeed, I believe this is always administered, though in small quantity, that the credit of the victim's self-devotion may not be diminished by any apparent unconsciousness of what she is about. At all events, she perishes in complete absence of all reflection. It is visible that in this matter the Brahmins practise on the predisposition of the unfortunate creatures who are betrayed into this stupid and painful sacrifice. The policy is easily intelligible. The entire frame of the Hindoo doctrine displays the forecasting solicitude of the Brahmins to keep the other classes in a submission to them, more or less grovelling, as they could manage it. It has been a consequence well understood by priestcraft in all nations from the earliest time, that if they could subjugate men to the admission of some signal violation of innate feelings as an act of piety, all minor prostration of sense would follow

of course. An unqualified triumph over reason and sentiment in one instance rendered contest on subordinate questions idle. Hence arose the recommendation or the injunction of human sacrifices and hence has flowed the encouragement or the enforcement of lesser, but still brutal, transgressions on our nature, when the paramount atrocity could no longer be reconciled to the mitigated ferociousness of a community. Let us bless our age and country; but let us also feel how much it is the interest and duty of man to define and disseminate the principles which bar the first steps towards these dreadful aberrations.

1816.

January 1st.—Never before did a year open to me with such chilling prospects. In a few days my wife and children, the only comforts by which I am attached to this world, are to embark for England. Nothing will remain to cheer me under unremitting and thankless labour; yet I feel a bond that will never allow me to relax in effort as long as my health will suffice. I at times endeavour to arouse myself with the hope that I may succeed in establishing such institutions, and still more such dispositions, as will promote the happiness of the vast population of this country; but when the thought has glowed for a moment it is dissipated by the austere verdict of reason against the efficacy of exertion from an atom like me. The Almighty wills it; it is done without the mediation of an instrument. The notion of being useful is only one of those self-delusions with which one works oneself through the essentially inept vision of life

. . . . I know the question has often forced itself upon us, how we can ever have brought ourselves to the determination of this parting, which, however called by each of us temporary, is by each of us felt to be probably final, though we do not let our minds define the augury. We perceive an indispensable duty to our children * which enjoins it. The relations which produce that very duty are only a part of that wonderful mechanism impelling all things in a direction incomprehensible, “while this muddy vesture of decay doth close us in.” Intellect labours to unravel this till it sinks exhausted. How well is it said, “I thought to understand this, but it was too hard for me.”

January 6th.—An extraordinary confirmation has just occurred of the persuasion entertained by me respecting the

* His only son had been very ill on the passage down the river. Lady Loudoun returned to India alone in 1819.

melancholy tone of life which is the lot of women in this country. The magistrate of Sarun has represented to Government the necessity of a police regulation for raising walls or wooden fences to a certain height round the wells in that district. At present, it is the habit of the country to leave the wells without any barrier whatever, so that at night a person may readily step by accident, or be pushed by violence into one of them. The magistrate states that in the course of last year seventy-seven bodies were reported to him to have been taken out of the wells, and in the preceding year the number had exceeded ninety; the extent of such casualties not having, probably, in either year come within the knowledge of his burkendauzes or constables. Of these cases, he asserts far the greater portion to have been suicides, indeed he conceives two-thirds of the number to have been undoubtedly so. Almost all of those whose death was deemed voluntary were women. This has happened in a district where there has been no uncommon occurrence, no interruption of the ordinary course of society—no inroad of an enemy which could occasion despair in the poor wretches from loss of caste through violation. Some momentary impulse of vexation acting on minds sick of a vapid nothingly existence has most likely been the cause of this strange circumstance. Incapacitated from mental resources by want of education and want of intercourse with others, at the same time debarred from corporeal activity by their inflexible customs, they feel so oppressive a void that the superaddition of any incidental disgust renders the facility of indulging despondency irresistible. The magistrate, with reason, thinks that such a barrier round the well as would require the lapse of a second or two to clamber over, might restrain many of these acts, by giving time for a suggestion of fear to intervene.

January 15th.—Accompanied my wife and children to the powder mills eight miles from Calcutta, where we embarked on board the *Sonamukhee*. Not arriving till night, it was judged best to remain at anchor till next morning.

January 16th.—The wind was so unfavourable, and the tide so weak, that we could not reach Diamondharbour, where the *William Pitt* was lying. We anchored not far below Fultah.

January 17th.—I had now to bid adieu to all most dear to me, as there are ceremonies at Calcutta to-morrow (on account of the Queen's birthday) from which I cannot decently be absent. Prepared, as I was, I have been quite stupified at this fulfilment of our own determination, and I only feel the confused soreness of a blow the real mischief of which I have no recollection to appreciate. I am only conscious of its having been the resignation of every comfort

How little an exercise of thought shows one the possibility, and thence enforces the certainty, that all apparently rigid destinations of the Almighty are kindness.

February 13th.—Our ordinances in this country have been generally instigated by some casual occurrence. In other countries, laws are only recognitions and enforcements of settled opinions of the community, and as these opinions are the result of long observation and practical experience, there is little danger that an edict founded on them should be inconvenient to society. From the want of comprehensive view in our system, many of our regulations, while they correct one evil, institute many sources of oppression. When we invested the zemindars with the proprietary right in the lands of which they were before the superintendents, it became necessary to secure to Government the regular payment of the rent reserved for the State; and for this purpose the law was established that, in the event of arrears to Government, the whole estate should be put up for sale, the residue of its produce (after Government should have paid itself) being restored to the zemindar. This was evidently framed upon a contemplation of the confined zemindaries near Calcutta. A detection of the mischief of this practice was one of the advantages arising from my tour up the country. Many of

the zemindaries are of such extent that there can scarcely be any competition of bidders for them; but what is still more material, the native officers round the collector form such combinations that purchasers are intimidated from coming forward; bankers are threatened if they attempt to aid the defaulter; and the estate is sold to one of the gang for perhaps a tenth of its value. If any man be suspected of endeavouring to get at the collector in order to open his eyes, a forged accusation of some criminal procedure is made to the magistrate against him, and is supported by perjured testimony. The individual is instantly imprisoned, and lies there till his turn for examination comes on the file, which may not be for many weeks. In the meantime, the sale is dispatched. I communicated my remarks on this evil, but the correctives were insufficient. Attention is called anew to the case of a singular circumstance. Through a strange want of consideration in the collector, a frontier zemindary, of at least twenty miles square was advertised for sale for an arrear of 700 rupees. The magistrate luckily heard of it, and stopped the procedure by paying the sum for the zemindar. We shall now put effectual guards against the abuse.

March 6th.—A curious circumstance took place at Barrackpore this afternoon. A party from Calcutta being with me to pass three days here, some foxes were caught that the strangers might be entertained with a sight novel to them,—coursing with the siyah-gosh, or small hunting-lynx. The fox of India is not above half the size of ours but is remarkably swift, and dodges with greater quickness than a hare. When turned out in an open space about 150 yards before the siyah-gosh, the fox was soon overtaken, and as the agility of the siyah-gosh at turning is equal to that of the fox, the course was but of short continuance. Double the starting distance was, therefore, allowed to another fox. Its pursuer gained upon it rapidly; but, blown by the prolonged exertion, at length stopped and laid down in the sulky manner habitual to them when they are foiled in an attempt. The fox, which was at this time about 100

yards ahead of the siyah-gosh, after running a very little way further, turned round and began to bark, it then advanced to within thirty yards of the siyah-gosh, going round it and yelping. This appeared exceedingly like the fascination which is supposed to befall a bird from fear on a serpent's fixing its eye upon it. We approached the parties, and the fox, though completely wild, did not make off till we were not more than fifty yards from them. The siyah-gosh did not show any disposition to make a second effort. The animal is, in these circumstances, so sullen and vicious that the keeper is obliged to occupy its attention with some chopped raw meat, in a long wooden spoon before he can get behind the siyah-gosh to slip the leash again through its collar.

March 30th.—A dispatch from our agent in Simoor, one of the largest hill territories rescued from the Gorkhas, announces a perplexing contingency. Kurrum Pershad, the Rajah of that country, who had been expelled by the Gorkhas, was so odious to the people, from the singular brutality of his character, that there was no imposing such a tyrant again upon the emancipated district, but wishing still to observe hereditary pretension, as likely to preclude future troubles we raised his son (though yet a child) to the musnud, confiding the Government during the minority to the mother, a woman of remarkable talents. Kurrum Pershad is drooping under a slow but apparently fatal illness. The Ranee says that in the event of his death, though he has separated from her, and is residing at 200 miles' distance, she must burn herself. She does not talk of it as a matter of feeling, for her contempt and hatred of her husband were not disguised; nor does she even put it on the footing of religion, but treats it as a matter of mere decorum. The narrow scope in which thought is exercised by these people prevents this woman, comparatively clever, from perceiving that after the act she would not have any sense of having fulfilled this curious decency of life. The agent is directed to represent that her destroying herself would be so injurious to her son, and such a breach of her plighted faith to protect

the country till he came of age, that she would entail on herself universal discredit. This consequence, which should be equally indifferent with the other, will, if strongly exposed to her, probably put a stop to her extravagant purpose.

April 13th.—The detail of an atrocious crime has been transmitted in the Report of the Circuit Court of Moorshadabad. One Boolund Khan, a Mussulman, burned off both the hands of his own daughter, a girl of twelve years of age. The monster tied the child to a stake or post, bound her hands together, and then wrapt them in cotton, which he soaked in oil. Having set fire to the cotton, he continued supplying it with oil as fast as it was exhausted, till his diabolical purpose was completed by the entire destruction of both the poor victim's hands. His concubine assisted him in this horrid act, and probably instigated it. The severest punishment that could be annexed to such an offence, according to the Mahommedan law, has been adjudged against him. He is to receive twenty stripes with the korah (leather whip), and to be imprisoned for five years. The woman is to be imprisoned for two years. Now, imprisonment without labour, which could not in this case be ordered, is really no punishment on these people, who would desire nothing better than to be fed in idleness. It was my expedient to keep up the distribution of the civil law of the Mussulmans and Hindoos, because they were respectively acquainted with the provisions, and squared their arrangements of property by them; but the upholding of the stupid and unequitable code of Mahommedan criminal law is a gross absurdity. Obvious as this is, there is great difficulty in altering a judicial system which the whole British magistracy of the country has been studying and administering for so many years; such an extent of evil does an original error entail! We have in Council settled on the wretched girl an allowance for life, which will maintain her comfortably.

April 15th.—I have this day read a letter from the Guntoor Sircar, on the coast, stating a very affecting circumstance.

A village was surrounded by the Pindarries. The horrors perpetrated by these demons at other places made the poor villagers, totally unarmed and incapable of resistance, fly to the desperate resolution of burning themselves with their wives and children. The houses were all of wood and palm-leaf mats; so that most of them being set fire to at once, the dreadful sacrifice was immediately fulfilled. Some boys who had not the courage to bear the flames escaped, and explained the circumstance. All the rest of the inhabitants perished; and I am strictly forbidden by the Court of Directors to undertake the suppression of the fiends who occasioned this heart-rending scene, lest I should provoke a war with the Mahrattas. Hundreds of women belonging to other villages have drowned themselves in the wells, not being able to survive the pollution they had suffered. All the young girls are carried off by the Pindarries, tied three or four, like calves on a horse, to be sold. By the Report of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop to me, the different columns which penetrated the Nizam's territories and ours, in this last irruption of the Pindarries, could not amount to less than 23,000 horse. They carried off booty to the value of more than a million sterling.

May 3rd.—We have received the news of an occurrence at Bareilly which is a striking proof in support of the representations made by me to the Court of Directors respecting the possibility of convulsions in their empire. It is difficult to make that Court understand that their territorial possessions here are not precisely like an estate in Yorkshire, or that they are not to expect as blind a compliance with their instructions in the one case as they might in the other. What has happened will probably convince them of the existence of those dangers which they suspected to have been only held out by those in function here from the pride of keeping up great establishments. The Rohillas, who conquered the extensive territory in which the city of Bareilly stands, and destroyed on it the name of Rohilcund, were a tribe of Affghan Mussulmans. Their intolerance drove the greater part of the Hindoo inhabitants from the tract; but successive swarms from

Affghanistan supplied the place of those fugitives and kept the country in a high state of cultivation. The restless and enterprising character of the Rohillas led to constant encroachments by them on the possessions of the Nawab Vizeer. The latter, wearied with resistance, claimed our aid as his allies; and Mr. Hastings, actuated undoubtedly by a foresight of the consequences which might ensue from such an influx of Mahommedan soldiery into the territories within the Ganges, undertook the war. The Rohillas were subdued; and their country was made over to the Nawab Vizeer; a portion of it, containing the city of Rampore with some dependent towns being assigned to the heir of Hafez Rickhmet (the late ruler), as a jagheer which was to be held of Oude on feudal conditions. Subsequently the provinces in question were ceded to us by the Nawab Vizeer, and the fealty of the Nawab of Rampore was transferred to the British Government. A police arrangement had been directed by proclamation for all the large cities under the presidency of Fort William. A cess was to be levied on the inhabitants, apportioned by the person of principal note in each quarter or ward of the city, the produce of which was to support an establishment of city watchmen, under the exclusive appointment and control of the contributors to the fund. The rate on the highest scale of property was four rupees (ten shillings) a year, the general run from six pence to one shilling, the lowest classes being wholly exempt. Marked distaste had been expressed by the chief inhabitants of Bareilly, on the first mention of this impost, possibly from apprehension that it might pave the way for other taxes; but more probably from a mischievous spirit instilled into the multitude which only sought some opportunity for displaying itself. The magistrate used great calmness and temper, delaying the enforcement of the order, while he explained to the leading persons of the city the real motive of the plan. As its object was that the police officers belonging to the magistrate should be freed from the town duties, in order that they might be employed more actively in attention to the securities of the public roads, a purpose in which the inhabitants of the city were interested, on account

of their trade, no less than the population of the villages, he flattered himself that his explanation would at least prevent any opposition.

On the day on which he had given notice that he would come into the town to regulate the establishment with the principal inhabitants, he found his way through the main street obstructed by a clamorous mob, at the head of which appeared the chief moofty, who, from age and station, had great influence. The magistrate, imagining he had gone too far to recede without discredit and injury to the public service, ordered a few horsemen (who always attend the magistrates) to open the road for him, not even then apprehending serious resistance. As the horsemen advanced, they were assailed with spears, thrust at them from the shops, so that they could not proceed. Three of the horsemen were killed, and four wounded. On this the magistrate brought forward the infantry guard from one of the gates; but the mob disregarded the menace, and continued to defy the soldiers, till the magistrate was obliged to order them to fire. Six or seven persons were killed or wounded; among the latter was the moofty, though very slightly. The circumstance made him the more virulent, and irritated the populace. Though the mob dispersed on the firing, the magistrate saw that nothing was to be done, and soon after withdrew. That evening the people assembled in great numbers at a mosque outside of the town, hoisting the green or Mahommedan flag, as assuming it to be a religious contest. Next day, the Chief Judge of the Court of Circuit opened an intercourse with the people, and endeavoured to allay the ferment. The mildness of the procedure was believed by the people to proceed from fear, they being well apprized of the scantiness of the force at the disposal of the public authorities. They, therefore, were insolent in their language and demands,—requiring not only a written engagement that the cess never should be enforced, but that the sepoys, who had fired by order of the magistrate should be surrendered, to be put to death. The Chief Judge expostulated on the madness of these propositions, when suddenly the people took a more pacific tone, and there appeared hopes

of accommodation. Another day passed in this sort of negotiation, but on the following morning the reason for the mitigated temper displayed by the insurgents was manifested. Their chiefs had sent to Rampore, and other considerable towns, for assistance. Every year large bodies of military adventurers come from Affghanistan to Rampore, as a station at which they can wait till their services may be hired by one or other of the native sovereigns, to whom they circulate offers. Of course, that city always contains a warlike multitude, ready for any enterprise. From Rampore and the other parts of the country great numbers of armed men had been pouring into Bareilly during the night, and in the morning they showed themselves to the amount of about 12,000, drawn up in good order, all under green flags. Still, any violence appeared so doubtful that the son of one of the judges of the Court of Circuit (Mr. Leycester) attempted to pass unarmed to the cantonment. He was seized by the insurgents and hacked to pieces. This murder was the signal for assault. Their line moved on rapidly against our handful of troops. Fortunately, 400 Irregular Horse had joined in the course of the night; before that, the force had consisted of less than 250 sepoys, with about 300 of the Bareilly provincial battalion, and two field-pieces. The insurgents suffered heavily from the grape-shot as they came down, yet their charge was so resolute that they actually took one of the six-pounders. The other was instantly wheeled upon the group which had got hold of the former, and a discharge of case-shot killed or wounded almost every man of them. The steadiness of the infantry, who were in the open plain without cover (an unjustifiable management), repulsed every effort of the insurgents, and the cavalry charging them in flank rendered their rout complete. The daring manner in which the insurgents exposed themselves may be best judged by their loss, which could not be under 1500; ours was about 200. Reinforcements arriving to our troops within four or five hours after the action, all the auxiliaries deserted the Bareilly people, and entire submission was shown by the latter. Had the event of the contest been different, the whole of Rohilcund would have been in

insurrection. They have undoubtedly depended on the support of Ameer Khan, to whom it is known the insurgents dispatched expresses. He has in his army about 12,000 troops from Rohilcund, so that his connexion with the country is strong; and one sees to what length the mischief might have gone had the issue of the first struggle been unfavourable to us; for, in that case, we should have had an extensive revolt against our authority under the character of a Moslem war. A consideration extremely embarrassing attends this question,—namely, how far we can with safety allow the continuance of the Nawab's separate jurisdiction in Rampore. He was absent from the city on a hunting party when the reinforcements sent to Bareilly departed; but it must be doubtful whether that absence was not arranged for the purpose of avoiding the necessity for giving obstruction to the march of those auxiliaries.

May 10th.—This day the treaty has arrived by which the Nawab Vizeer has agreed to receive the little district of Khyraghur, with the lands adjoining to it, conquered from the Gorkhas, in liquidation of one crore of rupees of our debt to him. The rental of Khyraghur is 45,000 rupees, but from the constant depredations committed in the district by banditti (chiefly from the Vizeer's dominions), we have not, on an average, received 10,000 annually. The Gorkha lands are extensive and valuable, but in a situation which forbade their being any convenience to us. The arrangement, though essentially desirable for the Nawab Vizeer, could never have been made but through his wish to adopt whatever I recommend. This agreement enables me to assert that the Gorkha war has not cost the Company one single shilling.

May 27th.—A cobra capella was brought this morning to the house at Barrackpore. In order to ascertain the rapidity with which its venom would act, a fowl was presented to it. The snake bit the fowl in the thigh. The fowl did not appear to suffer more pain than had it been seized by any other animal; and, having round its leg a string by which a man held it, sat down quietly in the same posture which

it had used before being bitten. It did not appear agitated in any manner, but shortly seemed overcome with a stupor, and rested its bill on the ground. From a doubt whether it was much affected or not, it was gently touched with a stick, when it raised its head with briskness, and looked round in a natural way, as if nothing ailed it. The somnolency, however, immediately returned, its eyelids closed tranquilly, and it again rested its bill on the ground. In a few seconds it sank on its side without the least struggle, and in four minutes (by a stop-watch) from the time of its having received the bite it was quite dead, without having shown a single gasp or convulsion. The snake was not large, being under three feet long. Its back was broken, but perhaps the irritation arising from that wound might exalt the quality of the venom, though the animal was in other respects enfeebled.

June 1st.—This day has brought to me the treaty of alliance by which Nagpore in fact ranges itself as a feudatory State under our protection. A singular contention of personal interests at the court of that country, resulting from the unexpected death of Ragojee Bhoosla, the late Rajah, has enabled me to effect that which has been fruitlessly laboured at for the last twelve years. Though dexterity has been requisite, and money has removed obstructions, I can affirm that the principles of my engagement are of the purest nature. Pursojee Bhoosla, only son of the late Rajah, succeeded to the musnud without opposition. He is blind, and thence used to remain unseen in the palace, so that he was in fact unknown. He was generally understood to be of weak capacity, but when his elevation gave people the opportunity of examining him, he was discovered to be literally an idiot. His cousin, Appa Saheb, an active sensible man, about twenty years of age, is presumptive heir to the musnud, Pursojee having no children. Through his natural pretension, and with as much of assent as the Rajah could comprehend and testify, Appa Saheb was called to the guidance of affairs as minister. Aware that there is a strong party against him in the palace, he feared that

Pursojee might be made to adopt a son, which, according to Mahratta institutions, would cut out Appa Saheb. The latter had to apprehend that this would be a machination of Scindiah's with the women of the palace, and those apparent dependents who really guide them; and he foresaw that in such an event Scindiah would support the adopted child with troops, in order to acquire the rule over Nagpore.

Under these impressions, Appa Saheb was not difficult to be worked upon. He is confirmed in his legitimate power, and he is ensured against the adoption by my professing to consider Pursojee incapable of the volition necessary to the act. This is most strictly true, for the poor Rajah has no will or wish beyond eating and sleeping. The security, therefore, to Appa Saheb is only simple justice. I believe the advantage of our having thus converted Nagpore from a very doubtful neighbour into a devoted friend is universally felt here; yet the whole extent of the gain will not be thoroughly computed. The arrangement enables me to leave unguarded above three hundred miles of frontier, for which I had difficulty to allot defence; it totally oversets the plan at which Scindiah has been secretly working for including the Peishwa to re-establish the Mahratta confederacy; it deprives Scindiah of troops and treasure, on which he calculated in all his hostile speculations; it gives to me, by the junction of Colonel Doveton's corps with the Nagpore forces, an efficient army on the open flank of Scindiah's country; and it renders the interception of the Pindarries, should they venture another inroad into our southern territories, almost certain. I regard this event as giving me the fairest ground of confidence that I shall be able to achieve all I wish to effect for the Company's interest without any war. This rests on our presumption of the Peishwa's fidelity. If he be treacherous (and there is no answering for a Mahratta) we might have a struggle; but the consequence of such a contest could not now be doubtful and it would only make the ultimate arrangement more beneficial to the Company.

June 3rd.—Captain Caldwell, one of my aides-de-camp,

has communicated to me a circumstance strongly characteristic of the lower classes in this country. The bearers or carriers of palankeens in Calcutta are chiefly from Balasore, and keep up among themselves certain rules. One of Captain Caldwell's bearers lent to the head bearer of another gentleman all his little savings from his wages, being to receive an interest. Finding the interest was not forthcoming, the lender desired that the principal should be returned; there being no witness or written document of the loan, the head bearer stoutly denied the loan. The other apprized him that, if that plea were maintained, he (the lender) would put himself to death, which would force the head bearer to do the same thing for the establishment of his veracity in the denial. The head bearer was obstinate. On this the lender went to his master's stable, and was some time after found hanging quite dead. The head bearer was now called upon by his fellows to purge his honour from the imputation fixed upon it. No argument, however, could persuade him to hang himself, and the rest of the bearers look upon him as a perverse and discredited wretch for declining so rational a mode of vindicating his integrity.

June 11th.—A vexatious delay in my political objects has occurred from the laxity of the Jyepore Rajah. He had been harassing us early in the year with importunate supplications to be taken under the protection of the British Government on the terms of a subsidiary treaty. Our occupation in the Gorkha war prevented my acceding to his wishes lest Scindiah should oppose the alliance, and hostilities be inconveniently excited in that quarter. After the termination of that war, the distresses which the Jyepore Rajah had been suffering from the exactions of Ameer Khan in those territories augmented formidably, and at length the Rajah, forced to confine himself to his capital, witnessed the preparations of Ameer Khan for besieging him in that city, his last refuge. In these circumstances, the Rajah renewed his petition. It was favourably met, and Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, was directed to settle the terms with the vakeels whom the Rajah was to send for the purpose. The

conditions were agreed upon; but as the case pressed, Ameer Khan having actually invested the city of Jypore, I had in the meantime ordered a force to assemble at Rewarry, on the Jypore frontier. The Rajah availed himself of this to proclaim that the treaty was signed. Ameer Khan had brought about 200 pieces of cannon for the siege. Fearing that he should not be able to withdraw them if the division from Rewarry moved rapidly forward, he thought it best to retire betimes. He accordingly fell back about twenty miles. The stupid Rajah felt such an emancipation from immediate peril in this that he despatched an express to his vakeels with orders not to proceed with the treaty. The instructions reached them a few hours before the time they had fixed for the formal execution of the document, the several articles of which had been all previously agreed upon.

Mr. Metcalfe, though justly indignant, has repressed all show of anger, only directing the vakeels to obtain from their master an explicit declaration whether the negotiations were or were not to be considered as entirely done away. In the case that they were to be regarded as finally broken off, the Rajah was to be apprized that in no extremity of his fortunes should he ever have assistance from the British Government. This procedure of the Rajah's is very embarrassing. I cannot embark for the Upper Provinces while this matter is in suspense; yet this would be a moment of singular advantage for my appearing with a large body of troops in the vicinity of Scindiah's frontier. The defalcations from his calculated resources by the loss of Nagpore must alarm him exceedingly. Were I in the neighbourhood, it is impossible that he should not come forward with amicable overtures, in order to avert what he would contemplate as an impending storm, and his co-operation in the extinction of the Pindarries might be readily made a condition in a pacific arrangement between us. The conduct of the Jypore Rajah shows with how short a forecast these native princes act, and may explain how they have successively sunk before our steady policy.

July 1st.—Passing up to Barrackpore, a gentleman who

accompanied me pointed out a place where, six or seven years before, he had seen a woman burn herself with the corpse of her husband. The spot was on the bank of the river, from which to the public road, or rather street, the distance was not more than one hundred yards. The place, a sort of suburb to Calcutta, and each side of the road is occupied by carpenter's shops or sawyer's sheds. On the side nearest to the river these huts are not so close together as to impede considerably the view of the space behind them. My informant was travelling along the road when his attention was caught by the preparation of the pile. Learning on inquiry what was going forward, he got out of his buggy and proceeded to the spot. The woman who was about to burn herself was old. A few Brahmins attended her, but in so public a place there were not above fifty persons, and most of these children, who had the curiosity to witness the scene. The woman appeared unagitated. She probably was prepared with intoxicating drugs, as she seemed in some degree stupid, though she went through the ceremonies correctly. When she was placed on the pile, a large cloth like a sail was spread over her, and the Brahmins kept her from moving by every two of them holding each end of a bamboo across her body. The dry straw heaped over the sheet, together with the smoke, prevented any struggles being perceived, and the shouts of the Brahmins rendered any groan or scream of the victim inaudible. Scarcely any of the sawyers or carpenters had left their work to look at what was doing. The provisions of Eternal Wisdom are all so simple (and in that consists their sublimity) that often nothing presents itself to fix one's thoughts upon the impulse and the effect, when the moral influence is as irresistibly operative towards the end as the most marked phenomenon of nature. Among many visible dispensations of Providence for checking excess of multiplication in all classes of animated beings, we may observe that wheresoever population is great, a general apathy about existence seems to take place; so that the indifference of the individual respecting his own life, or that of others, tends by a silent but sure consequence to counterbalance

production. It is to be noticed that this indifference does not appear to be the result of any reasoning, but probably arises from the succession of petty disgusts, suffered in the jostling of crowded society. In an accumulation of numbers, the appendages which each individual introduces for his own advantage in the various trades, arts, or courses of life pursued, present many perils. Noxious processes, poisonous materials, or dangerous machinery become traps for the incaution and ignorance of others, in proportion as the density of population compresses residence more closely. This is a perpetual check on increase. But it is a provision quite distinct from the other to which I have above alluded.

August 14th.—I have received a curious account of indisputable accuracy respecting the Garrows, a populous nation inhabiting an extensive tract of hill country bordering on our north-east territory and on Assam. They are divided into many independent communities, or rather clans, acting together from a principle of common origin, but without any ostensible head of their league. With them all property and authority descends wholly in the female line. On the death of the mother, the bulk of the family possessions must go to the favourite daughter (if there be more than one), who is designated as such without regard to primogeniture during the life-time of her parent. The widower has a stipend secured to him at the time of marriage. A moderate portion is given to each of the other sisters. A son receives nothing whatever, it being held among the Garrows that a man can always maintain himself by labour. The woman acknowledged as chief in each of the clans is called Muhar. Her husband is termed Muharree. He is her representative in all concerns, but obtains no right in her property. The clan will interfere if they see the possessions of the Muhar in a course of dissipation. If a daughter be the issue of the marriage, a son of the issue of the Muhar's father is sought in preference to become her husband; and in default of such a person, the son of the nearest female relation of the Muhar (he being of due age) would stand next for selection. The husbands to the sisters of a Muhar

are called Lushkurs, and it is a denomination to which a notion of rank is attached. These families always endeavour to intermarry within their own clan if possible, otherwise by inviting the son of a Lushkur from a neighbouring clan. The son of a Muhar, or of a Muhar's sister, is similarly sought from another community when a fit husband for the Muhar's heiress cannot be found in her own clan. The wealth of the Muhars is considerable, and they have a real power from the number of their slaves. These are either bought, or individuals sentenced for crimes, or the progeny of those in such servitude. By means of these the Muharree enforces that degree of obedience which the usages and opinion of the clan have established as due to the Muhar. The hills are not in that part abrupt or steep, while their being covered with wood affords many conveniences to the inhabitants. The villages are frequent, wide, and rich. Much industry, with sufficient skill, is exhibited in the cultivation of the soil, so that the country exports annually a large quantity of grain, cattle and hogs. This information has been acquired in consequence of a complaint from one of our frontier zemindars that the Garrows had invaded his lands, burned his villages, and murdered a number of his people, to punish which aggression he solicited that a detachment of troops might be employed. It did not seem likely that this outrage should have been committed without provocation, though the zemindar stated it so. Therefore, before I would send troops to chastise the Garrows, I despatched a commissioner to inquire into the case. He found that the zemindar had lawlessly exacted imposts on every article of the hill trade, and by disregarding repeated remonstrances entailed this severe infliction.

The principal of the neighbouring Garrows who met the commissioner on his invitation to them, avowed and justified the conduct they had held, saying that as they could not get at the zemindar himself, they were forced to make his people feel the iniquity of his conduct. The commissioner instructed them in a better mode of redress than this wild justice, by teaching them how to convey

their complaints to the nearest British magistrate should any similar occasion arise, and the zemindar has been threatened with the forfeiture of his zemindary should he ever again attempt to levy duties altogether unauthorized by this Government. It was in the course of these communications that the commissioner learnt from the Garrows, who are very unreserved, the particulars which I have minuted.

September 6th.—Two young women have been executed near Hooghly for murdering a little girl. Their only motive for the horrid act was, that they might possess themselves of the paltry ornaments which the poor child wore. We are apt to connect with age a notion that the feelings are blunted, and one should thence have been less surprised to hear of the commission of such a crime by an old woman than by two females in all the bloom and glow of youth. The real difference is, that in early life the same value is not set upon property, so that the same appetite for an article of no considerable price would not be natural. I record the circumstances here, because it is the best answer to those who maintain that you should leave the Hindoos to themselves; and not endeavour to disseminate instruction among them. If one feels one's moral sense outraged by the perpetration of an atrocious deed immediately within one's knowledge, we have an interest in the prevention of such acts; but if there be superadded a consciousness that indifference to the prevalence of crime is a sin in Government, it becomes a duty to reflect in what source the frequency of such guilt originates. In the present instance the murderers were not wretches instigated by want or savage from a long course of depravity. They were women of the same rank and of the same village with the child which they killed. Their act proceeded from their having no conception of the brutality and wickedness of what they were about to do. This deficiency in all estimate of social obligation is general throughout the population of Bengal. Its consequences disgust one at every turn. And one hears, "Why can't you let the poor people go on in their own way?"

September 14th.—We have had a singular communication from our Resident at Katmandhoo. The Gorkha ministers waited upon him, and with great apparent uneasiness told him that a large Chinese army, commanded by a Che-Cheon-Choon (an officer of high rank and unlimited power), had arrived at Lassa, and was proceeding to their frontier. The Resident apprized them, it was what the Governor-General had known, and he further informed them that we were acquainted with their having caused the advance of this army by having represented to the Emperor of China that we had solicited a passage through Nepaul for our troops in order to invade the Chinese dominions, and that their refusal to grant the passage was the motive for our attack upon them. The ministers without any hesitation, acknowledged their having made such a statement, and said that as they supposed we should find means of undeceiving the Chinese Government, they (the Gorkhas) had to apprehend the indignation of the Emperor. The Resident assured them that the explanation had been already received by the Che-Cheon-Choon from us through the Rajah of Sikhem. They replied that they took it for granted it would be so; that the consequence would probably be an attempt on the part of the Chinese to punish them for the imposition; and that they were thence anxious to know whether we should take the opportunity of renewing hostilities in that event. On the Resident's expostulating with them for harbouring the thought that we could deviate from the amity which we had plighted in the treaty, they showed unreserved satisfaction, saying they could not be sure that we might not think it justifiable to punish them for a false charge against us, of which we were ignorant when we signed the pacification. Their ready admission of the lie they had used is curious. They professed, as they were now satisfied we should not undertake anything against them, that they did not mind the Chinese; yet they should send a deputation of their principal persons to conciliate matters, and prevent the mischief of a new war in that country. This led the Resident to observe that they need not be uneasy, as the passes across the Himalaya mountains must be easily defensible against any army; but

they answered that there were gaps through the hills of such breadth as to make the entrance into their country from that quarter practicable at any season for the largest columns. They described the route to be through wide valleys, with little inequality of surface.

October 11th.—A dreadful inundation has taken place at Bheerboom. A river which comes down from the hills, was banked up on both sides with mounds of great height and thickness to prevent its casual overflowing from injuring the cultivation of the country. The showers fell scantily during the rainy season, but of late they have been uncommonly heavy; in consequence the river became so swollen as to burst its banks in many places. The torrents have swept away a great number of villages with their inhabitants, and cattle to an immense amount have been drowned. We have directed the public functionaries to distribute money for the present support of individuals who have survived the wreck of their property. The system of embankments must be always liable to produce these accidents. Canals, easily cut in such a country, which would be extraordinarily useful in common seasons, would safely carry off by a gradual discharge the water so dangerous in a state of accumulation.

October 12th.—Fresh solicitations for an alliance have just reached us from the Jyepore Rajah. He states the rupture of the negotiations to have been altogether a mistake on the part of his vakeels, asserts that his anxiety for the league had never faltered, and implores that the negotiations may be renewed. Notwithstanding these professions, I still suspect him. I think he wants to have the appearance of being in treaty with us, because he imagines that it would check the projected enterprises of predatory powers, but I believe he shuns the putting himself so decidedly under the rule of the British Government as would be the consequence of a subsidiary alliance. I have directed him to be informed, that as an act of special indulgence I would suffer the treaty agreed to by his vakeels to be considered as open to his

acceptance and signature, but that I could not allow any new negotiation. This will bring the matter to a point.

October 13th.—I observed this day from a window of the Government House, a column of sand raised to a very great height on the road near the course by a whirlwind; it preserved its form unbroken from the bottom to the top, yet it must have been exceedingly thin, as the sand or rather brickdust of that road is as fine as possible. I observed a small round white cloud just above it, and have no doubt of that cloud's having produced the effect; I noticed a similar cloud over a column of dust or sand in the Upper Country, yet I could not perceive in either case such an apparent descent of a part of the cloud as takes place in the elevation of a waterspout. The principle of the phenomena seems to be the same. I suspect that there is in the waterspout much less liquid than is ordinarily supposed, and that it is a very thin film of water whirled round a large empty cylinder.

October 19th.—A serious expostulation has been made by this Government with the Peishwa. That worthless favourite, whom we had confined for the murder of the Quikwar's minister, when the latter had come to Poona on the pledge of our protection, and who escaped from that confinement, has been privately corresponding with the Peishwa; and the latter has been (secretly as he thought) raising troops. Our knowledge of these levies was intimated to the Peishwa, and the danger he was incurring was frankly stated to him. After much discussion he promised solemnly to disband the levies, and to surrender the favourite, Trimbuckjee Dainglia, should the latter put himself in His Highness's power. The assemblage of force is stopped, but the profession respecting Trimbuckjee Dainglia is nugatory. These native princes have all a curious mixture of the frowardness and inconsequence of children, with a dexterous cunning and a daring spirit of enterprise. The frequent recurrence of these discussions, any one of which may produce extensive flame, is a matter not at all comprehended at home,

where the tranquillity of India is imagined to depend wholly on our pleasure. This attempt at armament by the Peishwa is not unconnected.

October 26th.—A proposition has been made to us from the Madras Government, that they should be authorized to undertake the administration of the State of Kirnool, allowing to the Nawab its chief a certain income out of its revenues. The late Nawab was our feudatory, bound as such to have no relations with any other power, and to maintain a certain number of troops for our service. In his internal government he was to be quite independent. On his death, the second son seized the capital (a strong fortress), and ascended the musnud. We upheld the pretension of the eldest son, who happened to be at the time within our territories, and furnished him with a body of troops to recover his rights. Through operations skilfully conducted by Colonel Marriott the fort was reduced, and the eldest son established in his hereditary possessions. It does not seem a natural consequence of this arrangement that the Nawab, without the surmise of any misconduct urged against him, should be deprived of his authority and of his revenues, except as to such portion as we might munificently leave to him. This is a remnant of the old system, in which our convenience was the only influencing principle. It is evidently an unjust principle when no real necessity can be pleaded, but I am further convinced that it is a thoroughly impolitic course. The confidence of each State that it may depend on your justice would produce a general submission to your strength, because that strength would then be a security to every chief against rapacious neighbours, and would be upheld from a sentiment of common interest. I am proceeding on this plan with a success most gratifying to me; and we have directed an observance of it towards the Nawab of Kirnool.

November 8th.—When the Nepaulese found our arms prevailing over them, they sent to the Emperor of China, representing that the British had requested permission to

pass across the Nepaulese territories in order to attack China, and that on their refusal of that licence we had waged war on them, and had subjugated part of their country. This appears to have occasioned great sensation at Pekin. A person of high rank was despatched immediately with a large army to Lassa, with the title of Che-Cheon-Choon, which, we are given to understand, implies unlimited power in both the civil and military lines. The Sikhem Rajah, who, from having smarted under continual aggression, was very hostile to the Gorkhas, learned this circumstance, and offered to transmit to the Chinese army any letter in which we might think fit to repel the falsity of the Gorkha statement. Captain Latter, political agent on the Rungpore frontier, was directed to address a letter to the Che-Cheon-Choon, detailing the real circumstances of the war, and referring to the Sikhem Rajah for the accuracy of the explanation. We have this day received the answer which the Che-Cheon-Choon returned to Captain Latter. It is a very sensible performance. He states that there is an air of verity in the recital which commands conviction; besides which, the Sikhem Rajah has borne testimony to the manner in which the war was forced upon us. But, above all, his own knowledge of the lying character of the Gorkhas disposed him to yield implicit confidence to all we advanced on the subject. He desired it to be understood that all was well between the Chinese and the English, which latter were a wise and moderate people, never assailing others without provocation; but that he should heartily punish the Nepaulese for having dared to practise upon the Shadow of Heaven (the Emperor) with false stories. The Sikhem Rajah, with singular simplicity, observed that although the matter is thus courteously settled, the occurrence will make the Chinese revise the state of their connexions on the frontier. In consequence, he foresees that he shall be exposed to harassing oppressions and hostilities unless he proceeds at once to make his election between the Chinese and the British Government, declaring himself feudatory to one or other of them. He adds, that the good faith and generosity of the British leave no room for hesitation in the choice, and he desires to be enrolled as a dependent on the British Govern-

ment. This relation with him, which we never could have imposed by force of arms, from the extreme difficulty of his country, may be of great use, from the communication which it ensures by way of Thibet with Pekin.

November 10th.—A very extraordinary despatch is received from our minister at Katmandoo. It is a detail of the communication made to him by the Gorkha ministers, of their settlement with the Che-Cheon-Choon. They admit that they treated their mission with considerable haughtiness and sneering incivility; but they appear satisfied with his having professed that he pardoned them in the name of the Emperor for the false statement which had put His Majesty to the trouble of sending an army. There is strange contrariety in the character of these people. In some things they are tenacious of points of honour to the most punctilious degree, while in a case of this kind they have no shame in acknowledging to us their having been publicly reprobated for a profligate lie. We have had the account of the audience from a minister of the Sikhem Rajah's, who had been instructed to witness it. He asserts that the Che-Cheon-Choon treated the bahdars with contemptuous levity, not suffering them to sit down before him, and twitting them with their absurdity in believing that they could make head against the English. He made them engage to send a mission to Pekin every year, to do homage to the Emperor.

November 15th.—It is very pleasing that each succeeding year diminishes the number of offences committed within our provinces, notwithstanding that few can now escape being put on the list, whereas many used heretofore to be perpetrated without being so ascertained as to come within the knowledge of the magistrate. Our rule has certainly augmented the amount of human comfort in an extraordinary degree. The effect is perceivable in an increase of population very surprising. It is to be admitted that our estimate of the number of inhabitants has hitherto been very loose, from the habits of the people, which forbid any stranger, even a native officer, to enter a house. Latterly we have directed the

magistrates and collectors to specify the number of cities, towns, and villages in their respective districts. This was, of course, upon record, on account of the quit-rent payable by each of those assemblages; but the functionaries were required to mention what they would compute to be a fair average number of houses, after throwing the cities and large towns into the scale, for each of those settlements. After receiving their calculations, which appear to have been carefully and cautiously made, the result gives, for the Lower Provinces, the enormous population of more than seventy millions. The Lower Provinces are bounded by the Soane river, south of the Ganges; by the Gunduck, on the north of that river; stopping short of Benares and its subordinate districts. The Upper Provinces contain a much greater surface, but not so thickly studded with villages, though far more populous than any part of Europe. How is it that we maintain sovereignty over this immense mass? By equity solely, which may have proceeded in some degree from consciousness of inability to maintain a position on other terms, but which surely speaks highly for the honourable feeling predominant in the mind of almost everyone educated in our country.

December 17th.—It is surprising how frequent are the occurrences in this country which bring home to the mind irresistible refutation of the hypothesis maintained by some able men in England, that it is inexpedient to enlighten the lower classes. Their assumption is, that by letting men in humble station see too distinctly the advantages of higher positions in life, you make them discontented with their natural occupations, and ready to seek melioration of their condition by violence, while you further vitiate their minds by enabling them to question the principles of that tranquil morality in which prejudice and habit would otherwise constrain them to walk. In the first place, the passions of the multitude are not in any country to be restrained, but by the conviction of each individual in the mass that there exists a force ready to control him if he proceed to turbulence. This curb, however, will assuredly be less necessary over a

community where the discriminations between right and wrong are well defined and generally understood. In respect to public tranquillity, therefore, great benefit is gained by disseminating instruction. With regard to the imagined morality attendant on narrow information, every day's experience here contradicts the notion. Nowhere is the perpetration of horrid acts more frequent than in this country, though the natives are mild in character, and urbane towards each other in manners. Their crimes arise from the want of any principle which can correct impulses of revenge, jealousy, or cupidity. The observation is excited by a communication just received from the magistrate of Cawnpore. For some time past several native officers and sepoys of our troops have been missing; they had proceeded on leave of absence, singly and unarmed, as was customary, to their homes; which homes, however, the inquiries instituted from their overstaying their term, proved them never to have reached. Much investigation was fruitlessly made on the subject. At length, a man taken up for some crime offered to put Government in possession of a clue to the business, were he promised liberation. The pledge being given, he directed the search of the magistrate to certain wells, in which the bodies of thirty-four of our sepoys were found. These had all been murdered in crossing the district of Cawnpore, in the heart of our territories. It is a matter of universal notoriety, that when a sepoy gets his leave of absence, he has the indulgence of lodging with the collector of the zillah where he has been stationed, any little sum which he has scraped together, and of receiving an order for the amount on the collector to the zillah nearest to his home; so that the murderers could hope for no spoil beyond the trifle which the individual carried for the purchase of his daily food, or at least something too unimportant to have been deemed by the owner worth the trouble of securing by a bill. We have learned that the assassins came from Moorsaum and Hattrass. Those are strong fortresses belonging to the Talookdars, Bhugwunt Sing and Dya Ram. Talookdar in the Upper Provinces is the same as Zemindar in Bengal. When these territories were ceded to us by Scindiah, we unaccountably left those Talookdars in the

enjoyment of forts and garrisons, which might have been necessary for any man of considerable property in the tumultuous state of a Mahratta community, but were useless and incompatible under the regularity of our Government. The consequence has been, repeated complaints by our magistrates and collectors against these Talookdars for their protection of all kinds of lawless adventurers, who paid high for the protection, and plundered the neighbouring districts to have the means of so paying. Our Government, discouraged by the great strength of the fortresses, has always unbecomingly evaded the question.

December 23rd.—The ravages of the Pindarries in the Ganjam district, with the consequent danger of Cuttack, and the extent of depredation committed by these atrocious banditti in the territories of our ally the Nizam, have at length induced my colleagues to take a step which would have been of infinite importance six weeks earlier. They declare themselves now ready to record a unanimous opinion that the extirpation of the Pindarries must be undertaken, notwithstanding the orders of the Court of Directors against adopting any measures against those predatory associations which might embroil us with Scindiah. No step could be taken for the suppression of those gangs which would not have a tendency to involve us in hostilities with Scindiah and Holkar, who regard the Pindarries as their dependents; therefore, with the most decided notion as to what honour and interest advised, I could not undertake an act in the teeth of the Court's prohibition, when I had to apprehend that there might be opinions recorded in Council against its necessity, or even policy. To draw the full benefit from the fortunate sentiment now expressed by my colleagues is not practicable immediately. Before I could assemble the different divisions requisite for expelling the Pindarries from their fortresses, and for, at the same time, overawing Scindiah, the hot winds would be at hand; and I dare not expose to such a season our troops, which, native as well as European, have been singularly debilitated by the most severe and extensive epidemic fever ever known in India. The 87th Regiment alone has buried

above one hundred and twenty men. I shall, however, avail myself of this declaration of Council to pin Scindiah to one point or the other. It is far better, if he be resolved to risk his existence for the support of the Pindarries, to place him in the condition of an armed enemy. In an open war, there is a termination in prospect; but supposing Scindiah to be secretly identified with the Pindarries, the kind of war now waged against us might go on for years without approaching any decisive issue. The resolution of suppressing the Pindarries shall be communicated on my part to Scindiah, and the question shall be put as to the conduct he will in that event observe. I have been meditating a shooting excursion (which my health much requires) to the neighbourhood of Gour; and these circumstances will confirm me in that purpose. Scindiah will understand the readiness with which I could reach the upper country by dawk from Gour; he will over-refine, and regard my expedition as planned merely to secure to myself that convenience; and he will have the notion (not altogether groundless) that there is a state of preparation requiring him to be temperate and compliant.

1817.

JANUARY 1st.—I cannot open the new year with any remark more satisfactory than one which applies to the school established by Lady Loudoun at Barrackpore, because its success is not only gratifying to her views, but may be urged in proof of what is practicable in his country. The foundation is for the instruction of eighty native boys, and sixteen European and half-caste girls. The boys are to be taught arithmetic and Hindostanee, as well as writing in their own language, the Bengalee. Such boys as show particular attention are to be rewarded by being taught English. To preclude all jealousy in the natives as to the object being the conversion of the children, Lady Loudoun made a collection of stories, apologues, and maxims, all illustrating and recommending principles of morality, without reference to any particular religion. This, which was to be the English class-book, she had translated into Bengalee and Hindostanee, as the book for those classes also. The compilation was put into the hands of some of the principal natives at Barrackpore, who approved it earnestly, and communicated the tenor of it throughout the neighbourhood. The consequence is, that the most anxious interest is made to get boys admitted into the school, and the children of Brahmins are among the most solicitous. The progress made by the boys is very striking. There are many who read English with fluency. I made some of them construe the English into Hindostanee, to see if they really understood what they were reading, and I was surprised at their accurate conception of the meaning and force of the phrases. A sepoy grenadier, who was allowed by me to study as a supernumerary (being the son of a native officer), has made wonderful progress; he writes English copies even elegantly. I desired him to tell me what was inculcated by the story which he was reading, and he said it was that kindness to the weak or destitute was what

God required from the strong, and that a neglect of it would displease the Almighty. This is a species of instruction which these poor people never get at home. Were it to go no further than their acquiring some notions of justice and humanity, which they would never otherwise be likely to attain, much good would be achieved; but it is quite impossible that when you have opened the mind of a boy to a certain degree, and have given him the power of reading, he should stop at his school-book. He will unavoidably proceed to gain that information which the Brahmins would have prevented his ever reaching, had they perceived this education as likely to lead to it; and he will thence become an active instrument in dispelling the baleful superstitions of his countrymen. This forecast does not suggest itself to the Brahmins, who are caught by the immediate advantages which they think proficiency in science will bestow on their children. It must at the same time be said that the Brahmins near Calcutta are becoming oblivious of their caste, and indifferent about their customs, with a rapidity not observed by themselves. It may, therefore, be not simple shortsightedness, but a disposition not to see objections unless they are forced upon them which makes them overlook the infallible consequence of the expansion given to the intellect of their children. The girls in this school are Christians, and are kept totally apart from the other branch of the school. They are taught writing, arithmetic, and needlework, and appear to be very well managed. Hitherto the effect of the institution answers the benevolent wish in which it was planned.

January 10th.—Having so recently had occasion to notice the mischiefs, arising from the protection of robbers and murderers by Dya Ram and Bhugwunt Sing, a violent complaint from the magistrate of Allyghur comes appositely. The insolent pretensions of Dya Ram have been the subject of numberless representations. He not only has for a long time past refused to let any of the Company's servants, civil or military, go into the fort of Hattrass, but has forbidden their entrance into the town, and has stopped all the processes of our judicial courts against persons in either. The

magistrate now complains of Dya Ram's having seized and confined within his fort several individuals (British subjects), by whom he conceived himself offended; but he more particularly represents the outrage of a village having been surrounded by the troops of Dya Ram, in order to extort the surrender of an individual, though the magistrate was actually there. On the magistrate's directing the commanding officer to retire, the latter said he knew no chief but Dya Ram, and should not move without his orders. The magistrate despatched a police-officer to Dya Ram, with a letter detailing the circumstances, and desiring that the officer should attend his court to answer for the contumacy, but the letter was treated with complete disregard. My colleagues have represented the absolute necessity of putting down assumption so injurious to the administration of our justice, as well as so insulting to our character. I have told them the thing must not be done by halves; if we step forward at all, we must extinguish the whole of the evil which a nest of fortresses, actually maintained against us, produces in the heart of our dominions; and that I was confident the boasted strength of Hattrass would give us little trouble if proper means of attack were prepared. It is determined by us to require the dismantling of Hattrass, Moorsaum, and the dependent forts; and to treat Dya Ram and Bhugwunt Sing as rebels if they resist. They are closely connected in consanguinity; and they, with their retainers, can bring into the field full ten thousand men of well-equipped troops—a formidable force, pretending to independence on us, just within that portion of our frontiers the most exposed to attack. The moment is not inopportune. The excuse is convenient for assembling a larger force than the precise object can demand, which force Scindiah will perceive to be in a moment convertible against Gwalior. The Nagpore subsidiary force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, strengthened much beyond its stipulated rate, overhangs Scindiah on his eastern flank: Colonel Doveton and Colonel Smith, with their respective divisions, could at any moment penetrate his southern frontier; and he now will see an army assembled within four or five days' march of his own station. There is every reason,

therefore, to trust that he will be supple and complaisant. Expecting that Dya Ram will resist, from the extravagant notions they have taken up of their skill in defending places, I shall send such a number of mortars against Hattrass as must soon reduce it to a heap of ruins. They have never yet in this country employed mortars properly. There is nothing more impotent than shells when they fall at long intervals, and nothing more destructive where the succession is quick and constant.

January 22nd.—The determination of Scindiah is announced. He desired to reflect before he answered the communication which I caused the Resident to make to him. He then sent for the Resident, said he would depend upon me, and would join in the extirpation of the Pindarries, though it would be advisable not to let the intention be known at the instant; but hoped I would have no objection to his occupying the lands whence the Pindarries should be driven. The Resident said that, although he was not aware of its being actually the case, some of the lands might belong to the Nizam or the Peishwa, in which event they would be restored to our allies; all other territory, he was sure, I should cheerfully leave to His Highness. I was glad to hear this proposed condition, as it implied sincerity of decision; still, one is not to trust to a Mahratta; and all that is to be rested upon is, that Scindiah does not feel himself strong enough at present to uphold the Pindarries.

January 23rd.—Having reached Barrackpore last night, we set out this morning before day on our sporting expedition. We proceeded in the *Feel-churry* to Rana Chaut, where we landed at three in the afternoon. We were met by Mr. Paton, judge and magistrate of Kishnagur, and Mr. Barnett, commercial resident at Santipore. We thence went in carriages to Mr. Paton's, at Kishnagur, where we dined and slept. At daybreak we crossed the Jellinghy. Travelling part of the way in carriages and part in palankeens, we arrived at Berhampore about half-

past six, where we dined and slept at Mr. Ahmuty's. It was lucky that he has quarters in that splendid cantonment, for we had had journey enough, and should have found it tiresome to proceed to Moorshedabad, in the Appeal Court of which he is an officiating judge. The extraordinary unhealthiness of Moorshedabad, which seems to have been becoming worse year after year, has forced most of the European functionaries to seek residences at some distance, and only to repair to the city for the discharge of their duties. These continued maladies, which had reduced the formerly great population of Moorshedabad to a third of its original number, have been discussed in Council, and Government has ordered, as a public act, a correction of the evil which no representation or persuasion could prevail on the inhabitants to apply. The city is full of thick copses of bamboo, which prevent a circulation of air; and in the midst of these masses there are multitudes of little stagnant pools. We have directed the bamboos to be extirpated, and compensation, framed on a fair valuation, being made to each owner; and we have ordered the pools to be either filled up or enlarged into tanks which may contain a serviceable supply for the people, while the quantity of the water will prevent its growing putrid. So incorrectly do large bodies of men judge of attentions to their welfare, that it is probable this operation will be looked upon rather as an oppression than as an act of kindness. Mr. Loch, city magistrate of Moorshedabad; Mr. Smith, one of the judges of the Court of Appeal; and Mr. Magniac, assistant registrar, had met us in our way to usher us into Berhampore.

January 25th.—This morning, Saturday, I reviewed the Company's European regiment, commanded by Major Broughton. It was strong, and in good order. Afterwards, we set out to proceed on our journey. In passing through the skirts of Moorshedabad, I had the satisfaction of witnessing the progress already made by the keen and judicious activity of Mr. Loch, in clearing away extensive portions of the forest of bamboos. At three o'clock we reached the banks of the Ganges. The river was so low, that the remaining channel

was scarcely a mile wide. Jugguth Seyt and Rajah Oudwunt Sing had each sent up their mor punkhas from Moorshedabad (of which both of them are residents), to wait for me at this place. They were richly-ornamented vessels, and really elegant in their fashion, with many smaller boats attendant upon each. Infinite jealousy would have been caused by my giving a preference between the two. Jugguth Seyt is a banker, perhaps the richest in the world, whose firm had in times past been useful to Government; and Rajah Oudwunt Sing is the representative of a very old family. I professed to the dewans who had charge of the flotillas, my sense of the polite attention; but I said laughingly that as I was there only as a sportsman, I could not use those magnificent conveyances; therefore, giving money to be distributed among the boatmen, I crossed the river in one of our own bhauleahs to Godaghary, near which our camp was pitched. The situation was quite a jungle, close to a jheel, or large pool, on the banks of which many alligators were amusing themselves. A grenadier company of the 21st Native Infantry met me as my guard—remarkably fine men.

January 26th, Sunday.—We remained quiet in our tents. Our party consisted of Mr. Adam, Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle, Mr. Chastenay, Captain M’Ra, Captain Caldwell, Captain Stanhope, Captain FitzClarence, and Dr. Sawyers—all of whom had accompanied me from Calcutta—with Mr. Ewer, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Lambert, civil officers of that vicinity.

February 2nd.—We marched to English Bazaar, the residence of Mr. Chester. At this place the greatest part of the silk sent home to England is collected. The factory which Mr. Chester inhabits displays the prodigious difference between our present situation and that which existed not many years ago; for the house is surrounded by a walk flanked with bastions, on which cannon were mounted, and it was really a frontier post, though it is now quite in the interior of even what are now termed the Lower Provinces. It was curious to see the millions of silkworm cocoons laid up

here. They are baked in ovens to kill the grub, in which state they may be preserved for six months. Mr. Chester told me that when the grubs are thrown out, after the silk has been spun off, the eagerness of the jackals to get them is surprising. They seem regardless of any danger in attempting to obtain such a dainty. That food has the singular effect of producing a sort of intoxication on the jackals. The morbid affection is transitory, and does not seem to tend to a madness like that of a rabid dog; but it, for the time, makes the animals stupid or violent, and careless of themselves. Is an escape from the ordinary contemplation of life a gratification equally to the quadruped and to the human creature? We met here Mr. Williams, assistant to Mr. Chester; and Mr. Lamb, surgeon of the station.

February 6th.—I had allowed myself a certain number of days for absence from Calcutta, and I would not be seduced into extending the term which I had fixed. Not that I am exonerated from business on this excursion; relays of camels bring to me with speed every day the boxes from the several departments, containing all matters not of absolute routine. I labour at these from the time we return to camp in the morning till the hour for going out in the afternoon; and if that time do not suffice, I work again at them before I go to bed. In other points, however, a protracted absence might be inconvenient, and Scindiah's compliant professions have removed the contingent necessity for my hastening to the Jumna. I therefore this morning quitted Peergunge, on my return to Calcutta. In our way to English Bazaar, where we were to encamp, we had to beat again the plains which we had traversed on the 3rd.

February 7th.—We marched for the ruins of Gour, fording a river which discharges itself into the Maha-Nuddee, and which even at this season is tolerably deep, we ascended what is represented as the rampart of the ancient city. It is surprising how rapidly a glance of the eye dispels the notions which one adopts from exaggerated

descriptions of place. The first conviction was, that the mound on which we were proceeding had not been raised for defence, but was, in truth, nothing more than a bund (as it is here called), or dyke, to keep the floods from overflowing a considerable tract of country encircled by the elevation. This first impression being established, the suspicion followed, of course, that the city had not been co-extensive—as is the fashion to believe—with these outworks, but that the space had contained a number of detached villages. Everything that I saw confirmed this presumption; so that the immense magnitude of Gour appeared to me a gratuitous supposition. This spot has been undoubtedly populous; but there are not remains of magnificence to attest that leisure and wealth of society which almost necessarily induce the erection of vast edifices, or the undertaking other works where great concert of labour is requisite. The prodigious size of one of the tanks has been advanced as furnishing a scale by which the extent of the city might be judged. There is nothing in that tank which makes me draw a conclusion such as would place either the conception or the execution on a high footing. The whole country in that neighbourhood is studded with pools. Where several stood very near each other, it would be natural to think of joining them, and of giving the united sheet of water a regular form—especially as clay for making bricks must be dug up somewhere, and could be as expediently raised in the performance of this work as at any other place. There is, consequently, nothing to excite admiration on the score of magnitude, and there are no remains whence one can infer ornament to have belonged to the tank. We encamped close to the ruins of the fort and palace; so that as soon as the heat was a little mitigated in the evening, we set forth to continue our examination. I had heard the walls of the palace described as forty feet high, and in other respects a noble remnant of antiquity. The wall which surrounded the space said to have been occupied by the palace is high, but in other points it might be regarded as shabby. In fact, there are two walls of small bricks, like what were used by the Romans, the interstice between which is filled up with clay. To prevent the bulging out of

these walls, the whole mass tapers to the top, where it becomes so narrow as not to admit of a parapet, or indeed to allow of a man's walking on it. There are scarcely any vestiges of the palace,—none that give a notion of its ever having been fine. The fort presents scarcely anything better. The ramparts have been but moderate: the gateways, of bricks, are just the ordinary structure seen in all the old native forts—large, from containing the lodgment for the guard, yet devoid of any particular dignity. We went some distance to see a mosque, which, in a description of Gour, is represented as equalling in structure and ornament, the finest specimens of architecture in the Upper Provinces. A building which is only fifty feet square is not very striking from its size; but this mosque has, in addition to that defect, the demerit of being decorated in as bad taste as can well be imagined. Its boasted ornaments are bricks, glazed with different colours. These are not inserted so as to display any elegance of pattern; simply a line of them intersects the red surface of the building. In short, we were exceedingly disappointed at this, and at all else which we examined in Gour. There seems a general propensity to eke out with the fancy the importance of any ruined place, and to devise for it anterior grandeur, though it exhibit no trace of splendour. The large quantities of bricks, remarkably well burnt, which have been taken out of the mounds here for purposes of building in the neighbourhood, afford no estimate of the quality of the city. The new structures raised with them would occupy a miserably small space compared with the imagined extent of Gour. The only natural inference is, that the facility of getting clay of proper texture, with plenty of jungle for burning it, led the inhabitants of the city and of the adjacent villages to build more generally with brick than has been the practice in those parts of Bengal where similar convenience did not exist. While we were at Peergunge, some of the gentlemen went to see the Adeena mosque, distant about twelve miles from that place. I could not afford myself the indulgence, as it would have interfered with my working at business in the middle of the day. By their account it is curious, yet not magnificent, notwithstanding a front of 500 feet. It is a succession of

small cupolas, supported inside the building by columns of a dull blackish sort of granite,—clumsy, but in some parts ornamented with tolerably sharp carving. This mosque was built by Shere Shah; and it is observable that the remains in Gour bear the character of Mussulman work. The splendour, therefore of the city, when it was the Hindoo capital of Northern India, is very problematical, or rather, may be said to be upheld by no evidence.

February 8th.—We set out for Seebgunge, where our boats were to meet us.

February 9th.—We embarked before dawn at Seebgunge. This town is on the Baughretty, a little above the confluence of that river with the Ganges. My present tour has confirmed strongly an opinion which had for some time been floating in my mind. I have suspected that the Brahminical religion did not originate in the provinces towards the Indus, but made its progress from the maritime ports of Bengal. A principal ground for this supposition was, the otherwise unaccountable circumstance that the Hooghly should be a sacred stream, while no sanctity or reverence is attached to the Ganges eastward of the spot at which the comparatively small channel of the former separates from the main river. Had the veneration of the Ganges begun in the Upper Provinces, it seems almost impossible that the superstition should not have accompanied the increasing volume of the waters quite to the sea. Ablution and committal of the dead to a running stream being parts of the Brahminical ritual, the priests encouraged the observance of them by hallowing the river on which they fixed their establishments. The magnitude of the Hooghly, as far as the tide reaches, would naturally make persons who had not examined the distant country believe it to be the estuary of a magnificent stream. When devotion to the river had become so firmly fixed as not to be shaken, the discovery that the Hooghly was composed by the union of two insignificant branches, the Baughretty and the Jellinghy, would be too late. The sanctity would be to be carried up that branch along which the accidental

course of the extending religion proceeded. In this manner the Baughretty became sacred, while the Jellinghy remained unhonoured. On arriving at the point where the Baughretty flows out of the Ganges, some casual circumstances probably determined the migrating swarm to cross the latter river, instead of turning along its southern bank. If any consideration led them to fix themselves rather inland, instead of remaining on the northern bank of the Ganges, there would be a strong motive for attaching sacredness to any river bordering their new settlement. Supposing them to have established themselves at Gour, it was, on the above principle, natural to call the river which flowed by the station the Baughretty, identifying it with the river of that name already hallowed, and feigning that the stream which washed the shores of Gour crossed the bed of the Ganges to form the channel nearly apposite, and possessing a prescriptive title to reverence. When, subsequently, the extension of population took its direction along the banks of the Ganges westward, that river was also made sacred, and the quality would necessarily be assigned to it up to its very source. To account for this sanctity, the tale was devised, evidently by people who never had had information respecting that source, that the Ganges issued from the mountains through a chasm in a rock formed like the mouth of a cow; this natural phenomenon, which linked itself with the religious prejudices of the people for the animal, being supposed to dictate to the inhabitants the reverence in which the river should be held. Rowing down the Ganges for about thirty miles, we landed at Bogwangola, on the Cossimbazar island. We there found elephants waiting for us, which Mr. Loch had brought, the first stage being impracticable for a carriage. We proceeded on them about ten miles, when carriages were in readiness, and transported us in good time to Berhampore. We were there hospitably received by Mr. Smith, judge of the Circuit Court.

February 10th.—Partly in palankeens and partly in carriages, we proceeded to Kishnagur, where we had our usual cordial reception from Mr. Paton.

February 11th.—Having gone in carriages to Santipore (sixteen miles), we there embarked in the *Feel-churry*. We rowed to Pulta Ghaut, nearly thirty miles. There we found our carriages, and, missing Barrackpore, we arrived by nine at night in Calcutta.

February 16th.—Some circumstances relative to the death of the Rajah of Nepaul (which event was communicated to us in November) have been detailed, and are worth recording. Vaccination had been introduced with great success by the surgeon of the Residency; and several chiefs had subjected their families to it with the happiest issue. The smallpox was raging in the western provinces of the State, and the Rajah was earnestly pressed by the Resident to secure himself by resorting to a precaution which had proved so safe. The Rajah appears to have been perfectly inclined to it; but, apparently at the suggestion of persons around him, he declared himself obliged to wait for a fortunate day. His eldest son, a promising boy, was soon seized with the disorder and died. Even this could not determine the unfortunate sovereign. Shortly after, the malady appeared upon him. Hope being speedily over, he was carried to die in the Great Temple; a ceremony which is always decisive, and the individual is laid on the stone floor, and left without succour till he expires. Two of his wives (the mother of the boy just deceased, with another that was childless) had declared their resolution to burn themselves in case of his demise. When his death was announced, two of his sisters and three slave girls were added for the sacrifice; whether at their own request, or whether the dreadful destination was forced upon them, could not be learned by our people. They all showed great firmness in mounting the funeral pile. The ceremony was over but a few days when the Rajah's half-brother, an active young man, was declared ill beyond recovery. He was carried to the Temple, where he lingered for a short time, and then expired. His two wives burned themselves with the corpse. This Prince had upon the death of the late Rajah insisted upon being taken into the Council of Regency, which the minister Bheem Syn had formed of

himself and two of his creatures. The difficulty of resisting so natural a pretension made the point embarrassing for Bheem Syn; and the death of the young man was observed to have come as opportunely as the decease of his brother, who was known to be manœuvring to free himself from the dominion of the minister. It is most probable that the deaths were natural, yet great alarm took place. The only remaining male of the reigning family was a child three years old. The Ranee, his mother, secretly addressed the Resident, saying that she threw herself wholly on the British for the preservation of her son. A few days after the Ranee was said to have died of the smallpox. Her death was certain, but the assertions were loud that she had had the smallpox six or seven years before. One may reasonably infer that in any malady which could give a colour for carrying the patient to the Temple the issue must be sure; because, it may be supposed, it would be thought a gross impropriety in any person not to complete the act of dying after being exposed in the Temple for the purpose. Indeed, I understand it to be a settled-matter that such a breach of decorum shall never take place. As nothing can be more advantageous for Bheem Syn than to rule in the name of the minor, who is absolutely in his power, the young Rajah is probably secure. Bheem Syn is one of the Thappas, a low family, which, by getting the military power under its sway, has established a predominance in the State. He is an intelligent, active man, totally devoid (as are all the Gorkhas) of those prejudices which prevent the natives from adopting the results of our science, though they witness the practical advantage. The Gorkhas have watched and imitated us with astonishing assiduity. All their arrangements of picquets and other camp duties are exactly ours. Bheem Syn took Mr. Gardner, the Resident, to see a practice of mortars which Mr. Gardner reports to have been very good.

March 14th.—Hatrass has fallen in the manner that I expected. It was certainly the strongest fortress in this part of India; was amply provided with artillery, and stores of every kind; and was garrisoned by troops not only highly

disciplined, as well as numerous, but firmly attached to Dya Ram. All these fortresses, however, look to the being assaulted, and their defences are calculated accordingly. The number of works framed with the view of contesting the place inch by inch insured that the blowing about of them with shells would be more than any garrison would have firmness to bear long. Forty-four mortars had, therefore, been ordered for the service. It was proof of great courage, that the garrison bore such a bombardment for fifteen hours, and continued the defence even when a magazine had blown up. Luckily it was not the principal magazine, the explosion of which would probably have destroyed every man in the fort. A shell did go through the roof (imagined bomb-proof) of that magazine, but the fuse had flown out, and the shell, in burying itself below, did not happen to touch any powder-barrel; it was a wonderful escape for the poor people. At length, in the night, the garrison sallied, and attempted to escape. Dya Ram, with a few horsemen, got off; the rest were either slain or taken, and the fort was immediately occupied by our troops. The glacis was mined in many parts. The ditch is 125 feet broad, and 85 feet deep. The sudden and apparently easy reduction of this fortress, deemed by all the natives impregnable, with most trifling loss on our side and dreadful slaughter on that of the enemy, will make an extraordinary impression at all the neighbouring courts; and we really wanted a success of the kind to retrieve our military character in the article of sieges. I rejoice that the old chieftain, who is a gallant fellow, got off unhurt. All the women had been sent away from the fort before the batteries opened.

March 23rd.—An embarrassing scene has opened to us. Towards the close of last year we discovered traces of many intrigues of the Peishwa's, which bore the appearance of hostility to us. At best, his objects were wholly irreconcilable to the articles of that treaty by which we fixed him on the musnud. Negotiations had been going on with the late Rajah of Nagpore, with Scindiah, with Holkar, and

with the Guykwar. We persuaded ourselves that he only aimed at a re-establishment of his supremacy over the other Mahratta States; a dignity which he might conceive to be only nominal, but which would, in fact, imply the continuance of that confederacy of the Mahrattas intended to be for ever barred by the treaty of Bassein. The death of Ragojee Bhoosla, and our consequent treaty with Nagpore, so totally overset the plan of a Mahratta combination, that I think we followed up the clues which we had procured with less attention than we ought to have done. Enough, however, had been detected to make it expedient that I should write to the Peishwa for the purpose of showing him that we were apprized of what he had been doing. I mentioned this kindly as an aberration of which I was sure he had not comprehended the quality, entreating that no shyness might follow the discovery, but that he would rest upon me with all his former confidence if he determined (as I doubted not would be the case) to dispel from his mind projects incompatible with the friendship between the two States. He sent an answer full of gratitude for the gentle manner in which I had exposed a procedure liable, as he was now sensible, to be construed as a direct hostility to the British Government, and thence capable of drawing down ruin on himself. He declared that his agents had gone beyond his instructions, which only went to obtain a titular pre-eminence among the Mahrattas, and that, as he was now conscious even that step was wrong, he threw himself wholly on our generosity, imploring us to rely implicitly on his good faith and attachment to a government to which he owed his dominions. We were so anxious to conciliate him, that we would not let him perceive our knowledge of a subsequent transaction most suspicious in its appearance. At length his sincerity and honour have been displayed in their true light. He had renewed his solicitations for the pardon of Trimbuckjee Dainglia. In my letter I explained to His Highness, in terms as distinct as I could use without insinuating my conviction of his own guilt, the imputation of his being an accomplice in the murder of Gungudhur Shastree, which would unavoidably follow the notoriety of

His Highness's intercession till the crime had in some degree been forgotten. This appeared to have produced the due effect. Shortly after, however, the Peishwa renewed his application to the Resident, and on Mr. Elphinstone's urging to him the objections which had been stated by me, His Highness broadly said that what was refused to solicitation might be extorted by force. The Resident, in temperate and respectful terms, represented the unfitness of such a threat. The Peishwa did not endeavour to explain away the words; but he did not repeat the menace, and the matter was passed over as a momentary ebullition of peevishness. Little time had elapsed before Mr. Elphinstone received information of the secret enrolment of troops throughout the Peishwa's dominions, and even of a considerable assemblage of them under Trimbuckjee Dainglia. Having communicated this to the durbar, the Resident was astonished to find his representation met by an absolute denial of the fact. On his insisting on the accuracy of his intelligence, and quoting particulars which showed how thoroughly he was apprized of what was going forward, it was promised that a body of horse should be immediately sent to disperse the collection of troops if any existed, though perfect incredulity was still professed on the subject. Mr. Elphinstone was not to be duped. He was not entitled to question the sincerity with which the body of cavalry was despatched; but he attached to it private emissaries of his own, instructed to watch and impart to him the proceedings of the Mahratta commander. From them he speedily learned the cavalry were placed in the midst of a number of villages filled with Trimbuckjee's troops, to whom the former gave no obstruction or trouble. Furnished with these particulars he waited upon the Peishwa, who produced to him a letter from the commander of the cavalry reporting his being stationed in the specified position, and declaring that there were no troops collected in the vicinity or anywhere else that he could learn. Mr. Elphinstone opposed to this report the precise intelligence which he had received from his emissaries on the spot; further specifying different columns which were marching to that rendezvous with the overt sanction of His Highness's officers,

and particularizing various large sums sent by His Highness himself to assist the levies and bring forward the troops into the field. He moreover exhibited to the Peishwa a list of the troops which His Highness had summoned to the capital. These combined indications of hostility, the Peishwa was informed, had been communicated to me; and the Resident anxiously pressed His Highness to reflect and trace back his steps, so as that when my orders, the tenor of which Mr. Elphinstone could anticipate, should arrive, the Resident might have a justification for suppressing them. The Peishwa received the remonstrance haughtily and slightly. Mr. Elphinstone told him that, as the cavalry which had been detached for the purpose had not acted, he should direct a part of the subsidiary force to attack the insurgents as rebels against His Highness's Government, unless His Highness chose to protect the assemblage with his sanction, which would be tantamount to a declaration of war. The Peishwa, not being prepared for so sudden a crisis, made no objection; but immediately after this conference gave instructions for redoubled activity in levying troops and putting his fortresses in a state of defence.

April 19th.—Trimbuckjee's troops have been routed with severe loss in two gallant attacks made upon them by detachments from the subsidiary force. The Vinchoor Jagheerदार, a nominal dependent of the Peishwa's, but considering himself as really under our protection, availed himself of the ostensible character given to the business; and affecting to consider the insurgents as in revolt against His Highness's Government he pursued them in their retreat with his cavalry, and finally dispersed them. Between five and six hundred horses were taken from them by him. It is not known whither Trimbuckjee has fled. We have obtained complete proof of the extensive and desperate treachery of the Peishwa. It appears that even in the autumn of last year he was soliciting Scindiah, Holkar, Ameer Khan, the Guykwar, the Rajah of Nagpore, and the Nizam, to join with him and drive the English out of India. Scindiah and Holkar have promised to assist him against us; but I deceive myself

much if I leave them the power of stirring. I am satisfied that none of them, not even the Peishwa, are aware of the degree in which I have silently and gradually augmented the divisions on the southern frontiers of the Mahrattas, from a timely conception of the exigencies likely to occur. Those different bodies, in fact armies, are in positions which would allow of their acting instantaneously; and they intercept the communication between the native powers as far as regards the march of bodies of troops. Still, this perfidy of the Peishwa's is very unfortunate when the ticklish undertaking for the extirpation of the Pindarries is coming forward to execution. A vigorous decision was requisite, and it has been taken.

May 26th.—The blow has been successfully struck against the Peishwa. Colonel Smith was ordered to advance his division, in separate detachments, with as little parade as possible, to situations whence by a forced march they might unite at Poonah. The Resident was instructed, as soon as the troops should be in those forward stations, to demand an audience of the Peishwa, and to deliver to him this option; instant commencement of hostilities, or an engagement on His Highness's part to deliver up Trimbuckjee to the British Government within one month. Should His Highness accept the latter alternative, his three strongest fortresses must be put into possession of Colonel Smith as security for His Highness's good faith. On this condition he would not be removed from the musnud; but, as the deep and persevering treason which had been carried on against the British Government must prevent any future confidence in his friendship, His Highness's means of injuring us would be diminished by a defalcation from his power, though the alliance should in point of form continue. I was particularly pointed in directing that this resolution of exacting cessions from him, as the penalty of his base and profligate attempt to excite a general conspiracy against us, should be distinctly explained to him, lest he should endeavour to represent it as barred by his submission to the simple condition respecting Trimbuckjee; and Mr. Elphinstone was accordingly precise in intimating it. Four-and-twenty hours were allowed to the

Peishwa for his determination. He affected to treat the communication lightly, as if he had already taken his part and resolved to abide by it. I think he had expectation to the last, of being succoured by Scindiah and Holkar. Whether or not he received intelligence of their inability to stir is doubtful; but after having let the day and the earlier part of the night pass in apparent indifference, about midnight he sent to treat with the Resident. The latter answered that he had no powers to negotiate; he had received specific instructions leaving him no latitude; he had communicated then to His Highness, and he had no further function till His Highness's choice was made. The Peishwa let the twenty-four hours expire. This was expected, and provision had been made for the occurrence. At eight in the morning, the heads of the different columns appeared before Poonah; and the necessary positions being previously fixed, the city was immediately invested. The inhabitants were so confident in the discipline of the British troops, that they did not show the least agitation. His Highness had seven thousand infantry (chiefly Arabs), besides a large body of cavalry, in the palace, which forms a kind of fortress; but the dreadful effect of the shells at Hattrass had been so bruited through the country, that no man had trust in walls. The Peishwa sent his ministers to profess his unqualified submission. Orders were put into the hands of the Resident for the delivery of the three forts; and a proclamation has been issued, offering two lacs of rupees (25,000*l.*) for the capture of Trimbuckjee. I have never had the least notion that the Peishwa would encourage any real step for the apprehension of that criminal, but the amount of the reward will make Trimbuckjee sensible that he cannot stay in the country without being seized by somebody. He will, therefore, go off to some distant state, Scinde or Cabul possibly, where the secret boons of the Peishwa will enable him to live splendidly. This is an issue which I should prefer much to his being taken.

June 28th.—The new treaty by which the Peishwa subscribes to the exacted cessions, has arrived. It re-

establishes the treaty of Bassein (the treaty of alliance), with a stricter construction of certain articles. It abrogates forever all claim to supremacy on the part of the Peishwa over the other Mahratta states, declares them independent, and bars the Peishwa from any species of interference with them. It binds the Peishwa not to maintain a vakeel at any foreign court or to receive one thence. It stipulates that the Peishwa shall not admit into his dominions the subjects of any European or American state without the consent of the British Resident. It settles all the contested points between the Peishwa and Guykwar (advantageously for the latter), which the British Government had been bound to arbitrate. It transfers to the Company all the Peishwa's rights in Bundelcund, a matter of great convenience to us. It yields to this Government the fine fort of Ahmednuggur, a post of extraordinary importance in keeping up the communication between the Hyderabad and the Poonah subsidiary forces; and it cedes to us districts near Bombay, connecting that Presidency with Surat, affording a clear revenue of thirty-four lacs of rupees in commutation for the five thousand cavalry which the Peishwa was bound to keep up for us as his contingent, and which he never did maintain. These terms are in themselves severe. When, however, they are measured by the magnitude of the injury aimed at us they will not appear harsh; nor will the necessity of imposing them be doubted when it is considered that our experience had proved the impossibility of our relying on the most solemn pledges of the Peishwa, who must unavoidably be more malignant from the detection of his treachery; so that we had no choice consistent with our own security, but to cripple him if we left him on the throne. The extreme of deposing him was altogether repugnant to my feelings as long as our absolute safety did not require the procedure. Relaxations or partial restorations may be practicable should we find him steady and honourable hereafter; but his disposition is so radically bad that I have little hope of his meriting favour. In the meantime, we trampled under foot a mischief which might have become serious.

July 8th.—Embarked from Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, with the fervent hope that I may be the humble instrument for extinguishing an evil which has been a bitter scourge to humanity. The horrors committed by the Pindarries exceed all imagination. Having for some time back had the means of getting at the correspondence between the Pindarry chiefs, Scindiah, and Ameer Khan, I find the strongest assurances from the two latter of support to the Pindarries when the British shall attack them. The complete insignificance which Scindiah or Ameer Khan would ascribe to any promise makes this of little consequence. It will be the beginning of October before troops can take the field; the rains and swollen rivers being still more distressing to the Pindarries than to our people, any premature demand for movement is unlikely.

July 13th.—I have hazarded a supposition, deduced from particular circumstances, that the present Hindoo religion had not its origin on the banks of the Ganges. This persuasion is strongly upheld by a dissertation which Dr. Robert Tytler has lately published, on the remains of temples to Siva, in the island of Java. These are represented as still exhibiting great magnificence with regard to size and architecture. All the images connected with Hindoo worship are found in these ruins; some as statues, some in alto or basso-relievo, skilfully and even elegantly executed. Structures so vast (I have seen drawings that show them to be really grand) do not betoken filiation, when one finds nothing correspondent in plan throughout the country whence the creed is imagined to have been borrowed. It seems more natural to conceive that splendid monuments referring to the worship indicate the parent soil of the religion, and that the imitation on a smaller scale belongs to a country which has adopted the faith and ceremonies. On the Coromandel coast there are temples of a description very superior to those in this part of India; but that can only excite the question whether the source of the worship should be attributed to the southern part of this peninsula, or to the eastern. It leaves unaffected the objection to assigning

the banks of the Ganges as the cradle of the doctrines. Perhaps my opinion on that head may receive some additional support from a fact which I overlooked in discussing this subject some time ago. The Carumnassa river, from its springs in the Vindhya ridge to its confluence with the Ganges, is deemed so polluting that it is shunned with the greatest apprehension by the Hindoos. Should a Hindoo pilgrim in crossing it in a boat receive the smallest sprinkling from the splash of an oar, he must pay an expiatory sum to the Brahmins, or must recommence his pilgrimage at the place where he set out, be the distance ever so great. A superstition so singularly contradictory to those habits of the Hindoos, which make them regard every other stream with partiality, cannot have arisen but from the inculcation of the Brahmins. The motive for such a policy in them is thence an object of speculation. It is possible the leading personages of that caste may have had some reason for wishing to restrain the propensity of their disciples to extend their progress up the southern bank of the Ganges; having endeavoured to make Gour, to the northward of the river, the principal seat of the religion, they would from that impulse convert a natural boundary so defined as the Carumnassa into a religious barrier, by making the touch of its water a serious defilement. If there be anything in this surmise, it strengthens the former inferences, whence I had concluded the Brahminical ceremonies to have been introduced up the Hooghly. The aim of Dr. Tytler's dissertation is to prove the identity of the worship of Budh with that of Siva, each being, according to his opinion, pure deism. Probably Buddhism was so it being understood that Budh was not a typification of the Deity. The images of Budh, as far as I can learn, were never worshipped. It is said they were meant to invite and instruct the multitude towards the proper adoration of the Supreme Being; the figure of Budh being only that of a priest displaying the calm benignity of spirit and abstracted contemplation of the Creator, which the principles of that faith enjoined as the homage most pleasing to the Almighty. The worship of Siva is as widely different from this as possible. Siva is a

god of terrors. Though Dr. Tytler states the placidity of countenance given to him in some statues as resembling the humane tranquillity of Budh's features, the circumstance alters nothing in the received character of the divinity. He is still the destroyer and all his attributes point at infliction. Besides, the worship of this idol is direct. The formularies prescribe invocation and offerings immediately to the statue. It is nugatory to say that the prayers are offered to the sole-existing and invisible power through the emblematic representation which the statue exhibits. This is the subterfuge under which, in all times, idolatry has endeavoured to shelter itself against the charge of obvious folly in bowing the knee to man's handiwork; yet the devotion paid in all those cases to the statue itself gives the lie to the excuse. Beyond this irreconcilable discrepancy, Dr. Tytler himself furnishes, what appears to me an insurmountable evidence against his hypothesis. He describes the prodigious number of statues of Budh which surround the terraces of the great temple of Siva at Brambanan. Surely, if anything were meant by this exhibition, it must have been the proud and insolent triumph of a new doctrine over a failing one, in which sense the multiplied figures of Budh were ranged as attendants on the predominant object of adoration.

July 20th.—This day I have interchanged visits with the Nawab of Bengal in our pinnaces. The pretence of being exceedingly pressed for time enabled me to excuse myself from the usual form of receiving His Highness's visit some miles below Moorshadabad, and returning it ashore on my arrival off the city. In this latter shape I should have been subjected to accept an entertainment; a heavy penance in weather so warm as now reigns. Though rejoiced to escape a ceremony which would have been repressive to all parties, I am glad to have seen His Highness again. He is a mild and gentlemanly young man; but in all instances there is an advantage arising from these interviews between the Governor-General and natives of rank; for the courtesy which naturally must be exhibited on those occasions has a tendency to obviate many misunderstandings, and tempers

the opinion generally entertained of a repulsive dryness in our Government.

July 23rd.—This day we entered the main river. We did not continue in it long; but turning to the left, we proceeded up a branch which runs parallel to it. The current was not in this by any means so strong as in the principal stream, which is this year remarkably powerful from the unusual quantity of rain. The channel which our fleet is now navigating was not practicable for large boats two years ago. It is now a considerable volume of water, and is said to be increasing. It is probable that the flow of the water into the cut, from the Ganges to Sootee, has occasioned a greater direction of the stream through this channel. The Hooghly might in consequence become extraordinarily augmented, a circumstance not at all desirable.

July 27th.—We have this day passed Siclygully. Quitting the main river opposite to Rajemahl, we proceeded up one of the mouths of the Cossy, and again descended into the Ganges through another. By this course we avoided a portion of the river between Rajemahl and Siclygully, where the stream runs with great violence.

July 28th.—This day it has blown fresh from the eastward, and we have nearly reached Colgong. Three boats have been overset to-day, and two lives lost. Nothing can be more agreeable in the imagination of those who have not experienced it than a voyage up the Ganges. It is, however, an undertaking excessively tedious, and attended with much danger.

July 29th.—A verification of what I yesterday observed concerning the danger of this voyage occurred about noon to-day. A violent squall burst suddenly upon us, and nine vessels were overset or sunk in consequence of being dashed against each other. We were happy enough to save all the people. Fortunately, the principal loss (in wine, stores, saddlery, &c.) falls on me who am most equal to bear it.

August 2nd.—We have had a rough gale to-day. Fortunately, it was from the right quarter, and it enabled us to get past Monghyr. At this point there is much embarrassment for vessels proceeding up the river. The stream runs with such force round the bastions of the old fort (the river making a bend here) that a strong breeze is requisite to aid the trackers in hauling the boats against it; and in the channel, at a distance from the fort, there are sunken rocks which make the passing in that part very dangerous. The river being at this moment uncommonly full of water, the current is peculiarly violent, and many of the vessels were dangerously whirled about, notwithstanding the strength of the wind. Five boats sunk to-day. These losses are serious to individuals.

August 5th.—We have been getting forward tolerably well considering the strength of the stream. It has blown fresh at times from the eastward, without which we could not have proceeded. Another boat was run down this morning, the people luckily saved. The river is fuller at present than the oldest people remember to have seen it, and has overflowed the country to a great extent. Several villages appeared like islands in the expanse of water. Notwithstanding the strength of the current and roughness of the waves, many persons have passed us floating by means of empty earthen pots fastened to their shoulders, while they pushed before them the little raft laden with the wares they were carrying to market. The collector of the district assures me that they will in this manner descend the river four or five miles (having to walk the distance back again) to sell a lot of commodities, the value of which would be little above fourpence. I have been observing a dexterous mode of fishing. Two men have a net like a large English batfold net, of which each holds one of the side sticks. They leap off the bank where the stream is strong and water deep. When they are a little way from the shore, and have taken a proper distance from each other, they dive in order to get the net near the bottom, the current carrying them down quickly. As soon as they come again to the surface

they make for the shore, and I was surprised to see how successful they were. Since we have anchored this evening, the hilsa have been sold in the fleet at sixty-four for a rupee, equal to a half-crown. It is a kind of shad, running from one to two pounds weight, and would be excellent were it not very full of bones. The lowness of the price, when the crews of our large fleet must have added so prodigiously to the purchasers, shows the wonderful plenty of the fish.

August 9th.—Our vessels reached the eastern end of Patna yesterday evening. The wind being unfavourable, we were obliged to anchor. The house of M. Campbell, with whom I had engaged to stay while the damages of our fleet were repairing was above five miles higher up along the bank. I attempted this morning to row to it in the *Feel-cherry* or Government barge; but although we had two-and-thirty stout expert paddlers, we were totally unable to make head against the stream. We were obliged to push for the other side of the river (which is now about five miles broad here), in the hope that the current would be found slacker over the inundated grounds. It was so in a considerable degree, yet we were obliged to make our progress by steering from village to village, where, standing like islands in the flood, they broke the violence of the stream. From most of these villages the inhabitants had retired betimes. At one we saw the poor people constructing rafts with earthenware pots and faggots made of drift wood, for the purpose of committing themselves to the current, should the water continue to rise. They had four or five boats, which could give them little aid in guiding such machines. The only assistance we could render was the bestowing some rope which would help to bind their rafts firm. After nearly five hours of hard work we reached the hospitable mansion of Mr. Campbell.

August 12th.—The account of damages has now been made up. We have lost thirty boats, including the small attendant panswas. In the later wrecks several lives have been lost. This being the Prince Regent's birthday, we keep

it here in all form. I yesterday received the Raj Gooroo (high priest) of Nepal, who was sent by the Government to compliment me. Such an attention from the court of Katmandhoo, at a time of the year when all ordinary intercourse between the hills and plain is suspended, makes great impression on the natives here, who, according to their notions, ascribe every civility to a dread of power. The poor man was so ill, as to have been nearly incapable of going through the ceremony. Almost all his suite are similarly attacked with that fever which makes the vicinity of the forest, at the foot of the mountains, so dangerous in the rainy seasons. I showed particular cordiality to the Gooroo, to repay him for what he had suffered, and I understand he is highly gratified. Mr. Wellesley, assistant resident at Katmandhoo, who accompanied the Gooroo, tells me that their journey was extremely toilsome and even dangerous. The torrents which they had to cross were so rapid, that two of Mr. Wellesley's horses were carried away, and dashed to pieces against the rocks. The general knowledge of the politics of India which the Gooroo exhibited in conversations with Mr. Wellesley, struck the latter strongly. On one occasion the Gooroo observed, that whether we wished it or not, the British must carry their sway up to the Indus. "One after another," said he, "the native sovereigns will be urged, by folly, or overweening pride, to attack you; and then you must, in self-defence, conquer; and then you are much the stronger, whether you intended it or not." This involved an oblique censure on his own government, for the indiscretion of quarrelling with us. Certainly, had they left us alone, they might with ease have subdued the Sikhem Rajah and the kingdom of Assam—operations in which we should not have felt interested—and the addition of strength to the Gorkhas, who have known well how to draw resources from their conquests, would have been very great. The fatigue I have had in giving a multitude of audiences, and in bringing up business which had fallen into arrear through the separation of the secretaries' boats, has prevented my making entries regularly, or I should have minuted my comfort at finding that during the

night of the 9th, the river fell above a foot perpendicular, so that the poor folks who were preparing their rafts would not be driven to that hazardous embarkation. The water has diminished ever since. I was much pleased to learn from the judge at the head of the Appeal Court, as well as from the magistrate of the city, the comparative infrequency of crimes in this city, which contains above two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The tranquillity of it is also remarkable, considering the number of old Moslem families resident here, to each of which many idle dependents are attached. It is only ascribable to the large proportion of European functionaries on the spot, through whose superintendence a transgression is immediately chastised. There is nothing more injurious than delay between the commission of a crime and its punishment; the intervention of but a moderate term suffices to erase from the multitude a distinct impression of the offence, so that the tardy infliction loses its principal utility as an example.

August 13th.—Continued our voyage.

August 14th.—No observation is trifling which marks a peculiarity in the feelings of any people. We passed to-day a shore where for a great length the chain of villages was continued. Of course, crowds of people collected on the bank to see the fleet. It rained smartly. Almost every man was provided with an umbrella, with which he sheltered himself; but I did not see a single instance in which a man offered that protection to a woman, though many of them had infants in their arms. The umbrella is an appendage which women rarely carry in this country. Their want of it on this occasion seemed calculated to call forth a humane attention; there did not, however, appear any symptom of sensibility towards the fair sex. We have anchored four miles above Dinapore.

August 16th.—We have passed Chuprah. The Collector of Sarun has mentioned to me a circumstance which indicates a great activity of trade. He receives monthly, on an

average, a lac of rupees, of which about four-fifths are paid in notes of the Bengal Bank. These must have been received from Calcutta in payment for commodities sent thither. The great convenience of an institution by which large sums are so readily transmitted is very striking.

August 29th.—Since the 14th, we have not had any rain, and the weather has in consequence been intensely hot. The rate of the thermometer during the day has been from 92° to 98° . I have observed it in my boat to reach 88° at four o'clock in the morning, which may be supposed the coolest period of the twenty-four hours. I have received an account of the Gooroo's death, and lament it sincerely. He had appeared better from having been cheered by the tone of his reception, but the day after we had quitted Patna, the fever returned with such violence as carried him off in a few hours. We have just anchored at Mirzapore.

September 2nd.—I have been pained by the death of Lieutenant Henry Fitzclarence, one of my aides-de-camp. He was a mild, amiable young man, earnest in seeking information, and in improving himself by study. He sunk under the fourth day of a fever. It is only surprising there has not been more of serious malady in the fleet from the extraordinary oppressiveness of the weather. This day we have passed the fort of Allahabad, an operation always difficult, from the strength of the stream, and have anchored opposite to Papamow. Yesterday morning we were informed that, although we might reach the vicinity of Allahabad, we should there be obliged to stop, the falling of the river having reduced the passage to intricate channels between shoals over which there were not above two feet of water. Our large pinnaces could not be hazarded in such a navigation. Last night there was a sudden swell in the river, probably from the melting of snow in the mountains; and a strong easterly breeze sprang up in the morning, so that we traversed, without embarrassment, the whole space in which we were to have encountered difficulty. One of the gentlemen of my suite observed to the head pilot of Allahabad how fortunate

the rise of the water and the favourable breeze had been; the man, putting his hands together respectfully, said, with great simplicity, "But I suppose, sir, the Governor-General had ordered it so."

September 4th.—I had a proof to-day of the dangers of this navigation. The wind being contrary, the men belonging to a bhauleah were tracking it along shore, and they kept the boat near the bank from being between it and my pinnace; on a sudden at least a ton weight of earth fell from the bank upon the bhauleah and sent it to the bottom in an instant. A bhauleah is a barge, with eight or ten oars, attached to a pinnace; and it has a low cabin like that of a Venetian gondola. This boat belonged to one of the aides-de-camp, and had he been in the cabin, he must have perished. There was one man at the stern and another at the head of the bhauleah to guide her in the rapid currents, but luckily no portion of the earth fell upon them.

September 12th.—We have anchored at Jajemow. Nothing has occurred since my last entry, except that at Dalmow a man of rank sent by the Nawab Vizeer was waiting for me. He had brought several elephants with howdahs for my service, with fine tents, beds, cooks, servants, dogs, and hawks. I went ashore to pay the compliment of admiring this establishment, though I professed my regret that the necessity of making the most of a favourable wind would not let me profit by this kind attention. I wrote a cordial letter to the Nawab Vizeer on the subject, and ordered a donation to the poor of Dalmow, which belongs to him. The weather has continued most oppressively hot.

September 13th.—I rode from Jajemow to Cawnpore this morning. The troops were drawn out to receive me and looked extraordinarily well. I took up my quarters at the house of Mr. Shakespear, superintendent of police for the Western Provinces. Everything here is parched with the heat and drought. If there be not rain soon, the crops will perish, and a serious dearth may be apprehended. Grain

is at considerably more than double its usual price through the general fear of scarcity.

September 17th.—I have just received the distressing account that Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop is dangerously ill at Hyderabad. Through this circumstance, his troops are not so forward as I expected. They cannot reach the Nerbudda till the end of October. I must thence postpone the assembling the centre and right divisions of our main army till the 20th October. They were to have been formed on the 10th; but as their destination is to occupy positions which menace Gwalior, it is not advisable to move so early as that Scindiah might be recovered from the impression before the troops from the south began to pass his territory to get at the Pindarries. The left division under Major-General Marshall will assemble at Collingur on the original day.

September 18th.—The Nawab Vizeer has been exceedingly anxious to come to me; but I am so immersed in business, that I am forced to put off our meeting until I shall have returned from the Jumna; a very indefinite period. It is pleasing to believe that real feeling makes the Nawab Vizeer so solicitous of this interview. I have seen here the English physician who attends him, and who says that, whenever the Vizeer mentions my conduct towards him, it is in a tone of affectionate energy. Why have we not more generally held to these people a manner which establishes such beneficial influence?

September 23rd.—Accounts of Sir Thomas Hislop's being out of danger. This is a great relief to me, for my toil had been much augmented by the provisional arrangements I had to frame for the contingency of his decease. It appears to me certain that Scindiah, though necessarily put on the alert by my visit to these Upper Provinces, does not yet comprehend the decisive and extended nature of our purpose. A letter of congratulation of my having reached Cawnpore has arrived from Holkar. The phraseology is more strong

than is usually employed in such compliments. Construing the professions into an overture which his fear and embarrassments might well suggest, I have in my answer declared my disposition to promote his authority and welfare on any terms which will provide for the future tranquillity of Central India.

September 28th.—The Resident has explained to Scindiah the necessity for Sir Thomas Hislop's marching across a part of His Highness's dominions to attack the Pindarries. Scindiah appeared quite unprepared for such a communication. He was confused; said he must consider on the point; and repeated often that he was taking measures for destroying the Pindarries. The Resident replied that, as no steps towards that object on the part of His Highness had been discoverable, the British Government had been forced to undertake the business; and if His Highness had been sincere in his former pledges, he had now only to order that every amicable attention should be shown to the British troops within his territory. Here the matter rests.

September 30th.—Scindiah has subscribed to the requisition of the Resident, and has issued an order to his different commandants to receive the British troops as friends, and to give them every facilitation in their march to the Nerbudda. His Highness has further desired that I should be assured of his disposition to follow my wishes in every respect. I have perfect information that he has agents with Holkar, Ameer Khan, and Runjeet Sing, urging those chiefs to join him in oppositon to us. Of this no notice must be taken. Duplicity of that sort is the incorrigible habit of the Mahrattas. We must not look to the security of honourable pledges from them, but be satisfied with carrying point by point through gentle intimidation.

October 4th.—On my inquiry into their mode of making ice here, which proves to be the same as the process used in Bengal, a circumstance somewhat curious was mentioned. If there be a single white cloud floating in the atmosphere,

let the weather be ever so cold, no ice can be procured that morning, even though the wind be from the west, which is the best quarter.

October 5th.—A curious detection has occurred. Two men were stopped at a ferry by one of our police officers, who suspected that they had stolen a book which they had with them, and which seemed too good to belong to persons squalidly dressed. On examining their turbans, in which the natives usually conceal anything valuable, he found in each an impression of Scindiah's seal taken off in wax. This led to an examination of the book. Several letters were found in it dexterously concealed between the cover and leaves which were posted down on it. Of the letters, two were from Scindiah, being sealed with his private seal. One was to the Rajah of Nepaul, the other to Bheem Syn, the first minister. Two other letters from Hindee Rao Gwatkia, brother-in-law to Scindiah, are addressed to the minister and his brother. The other letters are from the secret agent of Nepaul at Scindiah's court. He urges Bheem Syn and three or four more of the leading men to attack the British directly, assuring them that Scindiah is preparing to take the field against us with a powerful army. The Mahratta, not caring into what scrape he got the Gorkhas, would be glad to excite any trouble to us for the chance of its alleviating pressure on himself; but the circumstance affords no solid presumption of Scindiah's determination to be restive. I have directed the letters of Scindiah and Hindee Rao to be delivered by the Resident to the former unopened and without explanation. It will make him believe he is closely watched, yet that we do not seek ground of criminating him. He has privately sent for a great quantity of camels for the eventual transportation of his family and valuables from Gwalior. The camels, however, never can reach him but by our permission.

October 11th.—The Resident has spoken roundly to Scindiah. He has informed His Highness that the Governor-General had, after deliberation, formed his plan for the

suppression of the Pindarries, without considering the co-operation or the opposition of any one. The choice between those two procedures could only affect the Maharajah himself. The Governor-General had not the remotest wish to injure the interest or lower the dignity of His Highness, but neither could be contemplated if Scindiah counteracted the object which the Governor-General was determined, at all events, to carry through. Scindiah declared himself thoroughly disposed to accommodate himself to my wishes. Next morning the Resident attempted to make Atmaram Pundit sensible of the benefits the Maharajah would derive from a frank co-operation with me. Atmaram Pundit, who is Minister for Foreign Affairs, shrugged up his shoulders and said, "The weakest must obey the stronger." It was a curious avowal of incapacity for effectual resistance. The Resident caught at the expression, and asked him whether he thought we meditated any unprovoked hostility to Scindiah. Atmaram answered eagerly that he could have no suspicion; the customs of the British Government were too well-known for anything insidious to be apprehended; the salutary course for his master was, under present circumstances, to accede unreservedly to the purposes of the Governor-General; but that it was still humiliating to appear to act through constraint. The Resident assured him everything would be avoided which could give His Highness's union with us such a semblance in the eyes of the country. The minister said that the delicacy would be duly appreciated, and we should find His Highness sincere.

October 16th.—I quitted Cawnpore before daylight this morning, and am encamped on the Jooie Plain. A circumstance has occurred which will affect the superstitious minds of the natives strongly. There was a shock of earthquake just as I was setting out. The same thing took place when Lord Lake was leaving Cawnpore on his successful campaign against the Mahrattas. The coincidence has nothing odd in it when it is known that slight shocks of this sort often are perceived on the termination of the rainy season. I am much inclined to think they are not earthquakes. I suspect that

there is some impulse which suddenly presses a considerable body of the atmosphere downwards, and that the elasticity of the air springing up again from the surface of the earth, occasions the vibration as well as the rumbling noise heard at the time. In a real earthquake there is a peculiar heaving of the earth, which is very different to my feeling from the kind of shock we have just experienced. The recurrence of this phenomenon at a particular season confirms the probability of its being atmospheric.

October 21st.—Yesterday, the several corps composing this division assembled in our present camp at Secundra. I have made five easy stages of it with the troops from Cawnpore. The arrangement of the camp had been previously prescribed by me, and I found everything well executed. On examining the camp this morning, I found the immense train of baggage much more compactly stowed, and, of course, more easily secured, than I had expected. When I viewed it on the line of march, the difficulty of protecting it against cavalry appeared almost insuperable; but I was assured by the staff-officers accustomed to service in this country that the persons employed with the baggage contribute actively to the defence of it. The drivers of the hackeries (a kind of cart) make little fortifications with great rapidity, by drawing up their carriages in squares, and unyoking the oxen, which are then placed in the centre. Most of the hackery-drivers have spears, so that, unless the cavalry have fire-arms, which is very rarely the case, they set the assailants at defiance from within their barricade. The cavalry cannot dismount, for the horses in this country are so vicious, that one man cannot give to another his horse to hold. The Bunjaries are equally dexterous. They are a remarkable community. The name implies migrating through the desert; and such is their course of life. They have no fixed habitations, but move about, as convenience of pasture invites, with their numerous herds of cattle, in the uncultivated tracts near the foot of the northern hills. The principal people, however, among them keep up a constant communication with our military stations and with the native courts; so that they are ready at call

when their services are wanted. Their business is to furnish cattle on hire for the transportation of baggage or grain. In the latter they are dealers; a circumstance which enables the Commissary-General to contract with them at once for the provision and the carriage on occasions when it would not be convenient to recur to our own magazines. The grain is carried in bags hanging across the backs of the oxen. When they are approached by hostile cavalry, the Bunjaries make a square redoubt with the bags, which they throw off their oxen and rear into ramparts with surprising quickness. Most of the men have matchlocks and are very resolute, so that the plundering horsemen do not like to approach them. The Bunjaries are very fair in their dealings and trusty to their employers. Their cattle are docile and quick in movement. The heat continues oppressive, but the troops are healthy.

October 22nd.—This morning I reviewed the line. It consists of the 24th Light Dragoons, 3rd Native Cavalry, 7th Native Cavalry, bodyguard, three troops of Horse Artillery, detachment of Foot Artillery and Golandauze, European flank battalion 87th Regiment, 2nd battalion, 1st Regiment Native Infantry, 1st battalion 8th Native Infantry, 2nd battalion 11th Native Infantry, 2nd battalion 13th Native Infantry, 1st battalion 24th Native Infantry, 2nd battalion 25th Native Infantry, 1st battalion 29th Native Infantry, Dromedary Corps, and Rocket Corps. The whole made an excellent appearance. The sole point on which Scindiah makes difficulty (and that is maintained only by a solicitation that I will not urge it) is the putting us in the temporary possession of the fortress of Asseer. Doubtful, as we must be, of a Mahratta's good faith, it is awkward to leave so strong a post unoccupied in the rear of the troops who advance from the Deekan by Boorampore. The fort is on their line of communication. Still I shun the appearance of harshly extorting this cession from Scindiah after the many important points to which he has subscribed. I have directed it not to be pressed, satisfied that when I shall have crossed the Jumna he will take fright, and spontaneously offer to put Asseer-Gurh into our hands.

October 27th.—Yesterday morning I crossed the Jumna by a bridge of boats, admirably constructed. It is about 800 feet in length, and so firm, that when a number of elephants were on it at the same time, it did not seem to yield. Soon after we came into camp, the Commissary-General was informed that an elephant had run sulky on the other side of the Jumna, and would neither step on the bridge nor swim the river. Four strong elephants were immediately ordered down to coerce him. Curiosity might have led me to witness the process, only that the sun (the thermometer being now at 98°, in the middle of the day) was too powerful to be wantonly faced. I was told that these four-footed corredors upon being bidden to punish the refractory animal, would beat the delinquent under the belly so severely with their trunks as to leave him incapable of moving, unless he submits. The persuasion, however, is said to be very speedily efficacious. I am told, that if an elephant who has once undergone the discipline sees, on any future occasion of his restiveness, the inflictors brought towards him, he will tremble violently and rush to do that which he had before refused to perform. I could not learn how the elephants were taught to understand that they were to beat their fellow, which appears to me the most extraordinary point in the business. I have judged a little of this procedure to be requisite with Scindiah; therefore I have sent a letter saying that as I have passed the Jumna, I must know distinctly at once whether he accedes to my terms, or rejects them. One cannot wonder that he is in no haste to subscribe a treaty, which is to render his power very unimportant ever after. We are obliged to remain on this ground another day, in order that some works, destined to protect my bridge in our absence, may be completed.

October 31st.—After having made one march from the bridge to Loharrie, a second brought us yesterday to the ground which we now occupy close to the city of Jaloun. This is the capital of Nana Govind Rao, in whose territories we have been since we crossed the Jumna. He was a vassal of the Peishwa's; but the feudal supremacy was transferred

to the Company by the late treaty. The country is in the highest degree rich as to soil and cultivation; but it bears evidence of the insecure condition of the inhabitants under a native government. Our camp at Loharrie was surrounded by seven villages, each of which was fortified in a manner to make the assault of it with regular infantry a serious undertaking. The Nana came out about three miles, and drew up his guards parallel to our column yesterday morning. The political agent entreated me not to ride along the line, but to pass it unnoticed, it having been the Nana's duty to meet me on my first entrance into his fief. The omission would have been heavily mulcted by his former liege lord. These things appear to us idle, but I believe our Indian diplomatists are in the right to be strict about them, as the native chiefs are apt to construe their essential duties according to the rate of our exacting these outward visible signs. The poor man took fright, and sent to know whether I would allow him to fire a salute of artillery in honour of my arrival, as he did not dare to do it without permission after such a manifestation of my displeasure. He was told that he might expend his power without fear of increasing my wrath; yet the laws of the Medes and Persians ordained that I must keep him another day in waiting (to my own inconvenience as much as his) before I admitted him to an audience. Dowlut Rao Scindiah has swallowed his potion, and Heaven knows it was a bitter drench for him. He agrees to co-operate with all his forces against the Pindarries; to prevent the establishment of any similar association in his dominions; to give free passage to the British troops through all his territories in pursuit of the Pindarries; and to put me in possession of two of his fortresses for the security of our communications. What is still more important than the whole of the above concession, he recognises my liberation from that article of treaty by which the British Government was bound not to negotiate with any state in whose concerns the Mahrattas had ever taken a part. As Scindiah and Holkar claimed this interference with every state in Central India, we were precluded from making any league against the predatory system. I shall now rivet such shackles upon Scindiah and

Holkar as that all the treachery they are at this moment meditating will be impotent. In fact, the downfall of the Mahrattas is achieved.

November 3rd.—We are two marches west of Jaloun, approaching the Scinde river, and skirting Scindiah's territories within a mile. The fertility of soil and activity of culture continue. Though there is a regularity preserved among the followers of the camp beyond what I could have thought practicable, we cannot avoid doing injury to the standing crops. The villagers were astonished when they were told that an appraisal of the damage done should be made by a person on their part with one of our commissioners, and that the amount of loss should be made good in money. This is the first British army which has traversed the territory, so that the people expected from us the same indifference to their sufferings which they had experienced from Mahrattas. A respectable old man said to his neighbours, "Our own armies would never be so careful to prevent harm, and would never think of making compensation." On the 1st inst., I received Nana Govind Rao. He expected to be treated coldly and distantly; but I spoke to him frankly, and the effect was immediately visible in his altered countenance. He seemed very proud of a *khelaut* (dress of state) which was conferred upon him, earnestly professing that he would be always found a devoted adherent of the British Government.

November 4th.—We halted this day, in order to let some treasure overtake us. I received Ameerool-Moolk, jagheerdar of Bownie. He wishes to give up his jagheerlands, and to take a pension instead; an arrangement very desirable for us; but he makes the stipulation that he shall be exempt from the jurisdiction of the courts, and exclusively amenable to the arbitrary power which the supreme government exercises in state cases. Nothing can more strongly mark the prematurity of our attempt to force upon the Indian population our judicial system than the abhorrence which every man of family among the natives entertains against

being summoned, even as a witness, into one of our courts. On this account, it is almost impossible to obtain the testimony of any of them in criminal cases, where they have been present at the perpetration of the act. They will, in the preliminary examination, admit their having been present, but will stoutly swear that they did not happen to notice what was going forward, and can say nothing on the subject. With the lower classes the system is equally unpopular. The security which they enjoy in person and in property is duly estimated by them; but that they refer entirely to the principle of Government. The inconvenience, the expense, and the delay which they experience in our civil proceedings, make them unreservedly lament that they are not subjected to military decisions.

November 5th.—Crossed the Pohooj river, the high banks of which are broken into confused ravines. In the afternoon, I received the Rajah of Dutteah, in whose territories we now are. As he is one of the feudatories who has manifested the most zealous attachment to the British Government, I spoke to him with particular cheerfulness; giving him also an excellent rifle gun (as he is a great sportsman), and a very fine sword. In the course of conversation, I said that I lamented the mischief which we had unavoidably committed by being obliged to encamp in such highly-cultivated plains; a damage which I was sensible the pecuniary compensation made by us could not adequately meet. The Rajah answered,—“That is an inconvenience suffered but once, while the benefit I receive from British protection is enjoyed every year.” These Bundela chiefs have one observance in their ceremonious politeness, which is certainly the result of a refined sentiment, and which was found also among the Mexicans, or Peruvians. In visiting a superior, they are so far from apparelling themselves richly that they cloth themselves below their ordinary style of dress. The notion is, that it would be disrespectful should they happen to appear more splendid than the person to whom they came to pay homage. The Rajah was dressed in a plain cotton dyed olive, the favourite colour of the Bundelas,

without ornament of any kind. When he had retired from the durbar, he repeatedly expressed to the political agent (Mr. Wauchope) his warm sense of the tone with which he had been received.

November 7th.—Adverting to the procrastination of Scindiah, I thought it might be advisable to make another march towards Gwalior. We, therefore, advanced to Mehewdy, where we are now encamped, at the distance of between forty and fifty miles from his capital. The treaty, however, arrived last night, executed by the Maharajah. He subscribes to all the conditions which I dictated, and has swallowed a bitter drench in so doing. I should have thought myself oppressive had he not been so thoroughly false a fellow. The engaging to co-operate in the extirpation of the Pindarries, whom he has fostered—to whom he has plighted protection, and who really have hitherto constituted a material part of his strength, must be deeply mortifying. He grants free passage to the British forces through all parts of his dominions, in pursuit of the Pindarries; binds himself not to levy or enlist any troops during the ensuing operations; agrees that no division of his army shall move from its present station, and gives us temporary possession of the fortresses of Hindia and Asseer-Gurh, as security for his due observance of the above conditions. As those fortresses absolutely command the dominions belonging to him, between the Nerbudda and Tapti (the richest of his territories), the pledge is sufficient. Important as those points are, they fall short in that respect of our emancipation from the article before alluded to in our treaty of 1805, by which the British Government had debarred itself of the right of entering into relations with any state over which the Mahrattas claimed prerogatives. As the Mahrattas advanced this pretension with regard to every state of Central India, except Jyepore—this strange gratuitous engagement prevented our forming any confederacy which should check Mahratta combinations. Every state, quite to the Indus, has solicited me to take it under British protection; but I have, till now, been restricted from meeting the petition. In consequence of the present

treaty, I shall immediately fashion this league of the Western States, guaranteeing to Scindiah or Holkar any acknowledged dues from those states which prescription has established. Before the signature of the treaty, it was distinctly explained to Scindiah that Kotah, Boondee, and Kerowly would be taken under British protection, with the above reservation of his interests as to any annual payment from them. They will, in our hands, be barriers interposed between him and Holkar. He must have felt that consequence; but he was unable to struggle. We are in a fair way of achieving arrangements which will afford quiet and safety to millions who have long been writhing under the scourge of the predatory powers, as well as under the ferocious cruelty of the Pindarries. I trust that my soul is adequately grateful to the Almighty for allowing me to be the humble instrument of a change beneficial to so many of my fellow-creatures.

November 8th.—The Rajah of Dutteah came to Seeoondah, a mile in front of our camp, to solicit that I would take a morning's shooting in his rumnah or preserved chace, which is close to that town. He was so exceedingly eager on the point, that I could not but gratify a person so faithfully attached to the British State. Sport not having been my expectation, I was not disappointed in this morning's exercise with the Rajah. There were great quantities of antelopes and nylgaws; but as there was no cover, they were very difficult of approach. The ground being nearly bare and thinly studded with trees, there was no getting within shot of the animals on the elephants. I, therefore, had to advance stooping between two oxen, led by men who were hidden by a screen of leaves. My red coat, however, was so striking to those of the herd who happened to be wide of our line of direction, that they took the alarm repeatedly, and communicated it to those towards whom we were stalking, consequently I got only very distant shots, and did not more than wound two nylgaws, one of which was afterwards overtaken and brought to camp. I had at least a good laborious walk, and I had the satisfaction of pleasing the Rajah in no ordinary degree, as my going upon a shooting party with him

would be considered by the natives as a compliment of high rate.

November 9th.—I remained in the same camp, and received the young Subahdar of Jhansi. As the title implies, the chiefs of that territory were only officers entrusted by the Peishwa with the temporary command of the district; but one of them, who was a man of head as well as of courage, succeeded in making the subahdarship hereditary in his family, maintaining in other respects towards the Peishwa the relations of fealty with some pecuniary payments. The Subahdar is now our feudatory. The present one is a boy, smart, though not good-looking. I gave to him a handsome watch; and his attendants had some difficulty in preventing him from examining it minutely instead of attending to the forms of the durbar. This marks the difference between Mahratta and Mussulman education; for a lad of the same age, of the latter description, would have observed all the ceremonies of the audience with the most scrupulous precision. In the morning, I have reviewed five hundred horse sent by the Rajah of Sumptur to join my force; an irregular crew, part armed with matchlocks and part with spears, yet useful to spare our cavalry the fatigue of patrol duties. As great jealousy exists between the Jhansi and Sumptur chiefs, I took care to balance the compliment of the review by praising in the durbar the valour of the Jhansi troops who had repelled an attempt of the Pindarries to plunder Mow-Raneepur, a rich town belonging to the Subahdar. This gave great satisfaction. From adverting to the possibility of such an enterprise on the part of the Pindarries, I had desired that the Jhansi troops should not join me, but guard their own territory.

November 12th.—On the 10th, we marched to Terait, our present camp. The principal object of the movement was, that I might not humiliate Scindiah by the appearance of holding the rod of compulsion over him after he had acceded to all my requisitions. Still, though we seem to have quitted the direct road to Gwalior, we are in this camp

only three miles more distant from that city (by another route) than we were at Seeoondah. I am just come from receiving the Rajah of Sumptur. The gravity of the durbar was put to the test by a whimsical accident. After the Rajah had tendered his nuzzur (the present offered to a superior) I requested him to sit down in an arm-chair. His weight, for he is very fat, enabled him to compass this easily; but when he was to rise, and be invested with a khelaut, he was so wedged that the chair stuck fast to him, and there was some trouble in disengaging him. Luckily, everybody preserved a steady countenance, so that there was no addition to the Rajah's embarrassment.

November 13th.—We marched to Talgong. The dreadful epidemic disorder which has been causing such ravages in Calcutta, and the southern provinces, has broken out in camp. It is a species of cholera morbus, which appears to seize the individual without his having had any previous sensations of malady. If immediate relief be not at hand, the person to a certainty dies within from three to five hours. An extraordinary prostration of strength is an almost instantaneous symptom in the disorder. Hence our surgeons have first administered cordials, and then laudanum. The remedy has saved many, but numbers have died even under its early application. As yet, the malady has only attacked the natives, and among them it is nearly confined to the followers of the camp; so that it seems as if poor living made persons more liable to it. A disease of this nature, however, once it gains ground among a number of men, appears speedily to augment in acrimony, and I fear it will soon extend itself to other classes.

November 14th. Talgong.—Just as I apprehended, the malady has not only spread to the sepoys, but has attacked the Europeans. our men of the 87th Regiment have died of it to-day. Ninety-seven deaths are reported to me as having occurred during yesterday and the forenoon of this day. There is an opinion that the water of the tanks, the only water which we have at this place, may be unwholesome

and add to the disease. I do not think there is anything in the supposition, yet the feelings of the men should be consulted; therefore, I march to-morrow to reach the Pohooj river, though I must manage to provide carriage for above a thousand sick.

November 15th.—We crossed the Pohooj this morning, and encamped on its eastern bank, close to the little fort of Saleia. The march was terrible, from the number of poor creatures falling under sudden attacks of this dreadful infliction, and from the quantity of bodies of those who died on the waggons and were necessarily put out to make room for such as might be saved by the conveyance. It is ascertained that above five hundred have died since sunset yesterday evening. Ten of my own servants are among the number. The ground we are upon is sandy and dry, with the benefit of a running stream convenient to the camp. The difference of the soil from that which we have quitted, with the appearance of a rippling, though shallow, current, has persuaded our people generally that the disease will now stop. This imagination may be useful, for I think apprehension renders the frame more liable to the influence of distemper. Collateral causes may have increased the malignity of the disease, but it is evident that this is the same pestilence as has been raging in the Lower Provinces. We have information of its gradually ascending the river to Patna, Ghazeepore, Benares, and Cawnpore. It has arisen, undoubtedly, from the irregularity of the seasons during the year. Though my tent is thoroughly ventilated, Fahrenheit's thermometer was this day at 86° in it. Before sunrise, too, it was warm, although the air was really sharp at the same hour two mornings ago.

November 16th.—We continue on the same ground. This day has exhibited an apparent abatement of the contagion; that is, the cases sent to the hospital tents have been fewer, and the quality of attack on individuals less severe. Probably, this is not owing to any real change in the atmosphere. The malady, I should suppose, seized, in

the first instance, on all those who, from general habit or accidental circumstances, were predisposed to receive the infection; and in them it would rage with the greatest virulence. It made its impression more weakly, and thence more tardily, on persons whose bodily temperament was not so ready to admit it, yet could not ultimately resist it. Debility from previous illness, or from low living, seems to have invited the attack. Only four officers have yet been affected with the malady, and in each of the cases the symptoms, though distinct, were comparatively light. The diminution of the disease as to extent and violence, however sensible, still leaves its present amount a most afflicting calamity. I have lost four of my servants in the course of this day. As I rode through the different quarters of the camp in the morning, the scene was heart-breaking. Numbers of dead and dying camp-followers met the eye in every direction, and one heard on all sides the querulous lamentations of those who were more recently seized, and who, with a total loss of self-command, were resigning themselves to their fate, instead of recurring to medical aid. I had a gentleman with me supplied with a mixture of laudanum, spirit of hartshorn, and camphor, properly diluted with water; and he administered relief from his bottle to some poor creatures who would not have sought assistance, and were unlikely otherwise to meet it. Our surgeons have such unremitting employment in the hospital tents that they cannot go about the camp as their humanity would dictate.

November 17th.—Little improvement this morning. Many deaths have taken place among the Europeans and sepoy last night. Several officers are ill, but none of the cases are alarming. The surgeons press me to remain on this ground another day, and of course I accede to their wish, though I think the encamping on the banks of the Betwah, a large and limpid river, would have material effect on the spirits of our people. Extravagant accounts of our calamity will assuredly be carried to Gwalior. They might have produced a wavering in Scindiah's good faith were it not for the treaty we have concluded with Ameer Khan.

To this latter chief we guarantee those territories which he has wrested from states with whose losses we have no concern. He becomes the feudatory of the British Government, employing his army according to our direction for the present, and disbanding it on our requisition. Scindiah must feel that this force could be instantly let loose on his back, in addition to other strength of ours, even were this division reduced by the pestilence to inertness. But there is such spirit and science in our officers, that the very chips of this division, howsoever it might be thinned, would defeat any native army which could be brought against them.

November 18th.—No apparent good has attended our remaining here. The numbers sent to the hospitals are great. The bodyguard has above half its amount in hospital, with forty-two of its attendants. I have lost two servants in the day. There has been great difficulty in preventing all the camp-followers from taking to flight, which would paralyse the movements of the division. They have been principally quieted by the intimation that we were to cross the Betwah to-morrow. They know it is the road to Kalpee, and they thence think we tend towards home; whereas the object is to spread still more nets for the Pindarries by dividing my force. The delay of Sir Thomas Hislop's acting on the Nerbudda, though without doubt inevitable, is to be lamented heavily. Had we not put all matters here out of question, the consequences might have been seriously embarrassing. I detached Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot this morning with the 24th Light Dragoons, two squadrons of the 3rd Native Cavalry, a troop of Horse Artillery, and a battalion of infantry, with four guns. They are to proceed to the ford of Bojpoor, near Jhansi, where they will cross to the eastern bank. The detachment is employed to intercept any body of Pindarries which may be driven in that direction.

November 19th.—We have achieved a march of fifteen miles with less inconvenience than I expected. Our camp is divided into two parts by the Betwah, a broad and clear

stream, fordable here at Erich, but not passable between this and Bojpoor, a distance of fifty miles. The high banks here show that the river must, in the rainy season, be more than a quarter of a mile broad. At present, the water does not occupy more than half the extent. Its appearance, however, was sufficient to cause universal exultation among the troops and camp-followers, who attached a notion of purity of air to so considerable a river. Our encamping ground on both sides is high, dry, and open. The pestilence—for sheer pestilence it is of the worst description—will thence be mitigated as far as position can have influence. I believe that to be but little, except as refers to the spirits of the men, in whom despondency seems to invite the infection. Confidence, on the other hand, is not a security, for I have seen several persons fall, suddenly struck, while they were walking and conversing with cheerful vigour. Some of them died in a few minutes, before assistance could be procured.

November 20th.—There is thus far a favourable change that few new cases, in proportion to former days have been sent to the hospital, and the quality of the attacks appears not so virulent. One of our medical gentlemen and two European officers died in the course of last night. My sirdar bearer, the best native servant I have seen, was taken ill yesterday. Not above an hour before, he had gone to his brother (who lives with an officer in the camp) to prevail on him to take medicine, as the brother was seized with the disease. He succeeded in overcoming the reluctance of his brother, and the latter is now recovered. When the distemper assailed my poor man, no persuasion could induce him to take medicine, nor did the gradual failure of his strength make him relax in his obstinacy. He died this day a victim to his prejudice. A letter has been received from Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, commanding the Nagpore subsidiary force, apprizing me that he has at length (on the 14th) received from Sir Thomas Hislop the long expected order for crossing the Nerbudda. His division, or those of Sir Thomas Hislop, which cross the

river, will not be likely to find any Pindarries. I believe the whole of them have evacuated their lands and retired westward, in consequence of learning that Scindiah, Holkar, and Ameer Khan had sacrificed them in the recent engagements with us.

November 21st.—There is an unquestionable diminution in the activity of the pestilence. Two officers have been reported dead in the course of the day, but they had been attacked at Saleia, and had never arrived here. The men are much cheered by our present situation. A distressing circumstance occurred in camp to-day. A large elephant was seized with one of those fits of frenzy which sometimes break forth in the males. The mahout's son, a lad, was riding the animal, but was totally unable to restrain it; and the elephant ran among the tents, attacking other elephants, or camels, or horses, wherever he found them. The mahout learning this, and anxious for the safety of his son, hastened to the elephant, who, so far from being placated by the voice of his feeder, ran violently at the man. The poor fellow endeavoured to creep into a tent, but the elephant caught him by the leg with his trunk, dragged him out, and trampled him to death before the eyes of his son. The elephant afterwards killed a camel. A powerful elephant was brought out to subdue the enraged creature. A large ball of spices was given to him to animate him for the combat. He was immediately charged by the rioter, and received the shock with perfect self-possession, extending his hind legs to give him greater firmness. When the mad elephant was somewhat exhausted by repeated fruitless efforts, the other became the assailant in his turn, and with such success that he soon drove his antagonist out of the camp. The defeated combatant fled for shelter to a hollow in a ravine, where he was so wedged that he was easily secured with chains. Accounts have just reached us that the Peishwa, on the 6th instant, attacked the Residency at Poonah. No circumstance is communicated further than that the Peishwa was repulsed with great loss. The attack must have been most treacherous, and made with enormous

superiority of numbers. We have to rejoice in the issue of this attempt, not less on account of the safety of so valuable a person as Mr. Elphinstone, than on the infliction which the perfidy of the Peishwa receives. He ought to have been removed from the musnud when we were forced to punish his former machinations.

November 22nd.—No one who had not witnessed the dismay and melancholy which have lately pervaded our people, can comprehend my sensations on hearing laughter in several parts of the camp to-day. All are in spirits. The separation of the camp into five divisions along the river gives every advantage to the westerly wind now blowing; the east wind reigned during our sufferings. Still the malady is not extinct. The cases which now occur are of persons on whom the disease could not lay serious hold, therefore the attack appears in a mitigated form. Many put themselves on the sick list who might bear up against the degree of seizure. For three days I had repeated sensations of giddiness with faint sickness. I recurred to medicine, without subjecting myself to the more decided treatment thought necessary where the distemper was professed, which would at once have rated me ill, and have caused agitation in the camp. I believe few persons have escaped without some little indisposition.

November 23rd.—All going on well in the camp, but the loss is heavy among the sick left at Saleia. A generous exertion of a soldier of the 37th Regiment was mentioned to me to-day. They were bringing the poor fellow in a dooly (a kind of hammock suspended on a pole) from Saleia hither. He saw a sepoy of the escort fall with a sudden seizure of the pestilence, and struggling in convulsions. The European gallantly quitted the dooly, placed the sepoy in it, and walked by the side of the dooly till he delivered the sepoy to his regiment in this camp. With grief I add, that neither of the poor fellows survived the night. The detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot has lost two officers (of the 24th Light Dragoons) and many men. The country-

people were zealous in transporting the sick for him; in return for which I have sent presents of money to each village.

November 25th.—No new case of the distemper has occurred in camp for these two days. One hundred and seventy-two convalescent Europeans and ninety-eight convalescent sepoys have arrived from Saleia. It was exhilarating to see the joy of the poor fellows on rejoining their comrades.

November 27th.—Yesterday and to-day have passed without anything particular, except that five or six attacks of the malady have proved the pestilence not to be entirely gone. The cases were, however, slight. The Pindarries appear to have entirely quitted the territories which they occupied, and to have assembled at Seronje. The slow progress of the troops from the Deckan is heavily to be lamented. My plan rested on rapidity of execution, and its complete success in this quarter justified the principle.

November 29th.—Last night some bustle was occasioned in our camp by a pack of wolves, which came to the very centre of it. They carried off a tame antelope which was kept by a native sportsman to aid him in creeping up to the herds, and they likewise made free with some goats. Though it was clear moonlight, they seemed so confident in their numbers as to have little fear of the sentries. The circumstance having occasioned conversation, an officer mentioned his having seen a wolf the other morning course down an antelope. It cost the wolf a longer and more persevering exertion on the plain than a greyhound could have maintained, yet it also required a degree of speed beyond what I should have supposed the wolf to have possessed, as the antelope is a very fleet animal.

November 30th.—The Rajah of Sumptur having shown particular attention in providing conveyances for men of Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot's detachment who fell sick on the march, I sent to him a handsome watch in token of my obligation. He was so gratified by this civility, that he fired a

salute in acknowledgment of it from the artillery on his ramparts. He also sent a vakeel to my camp to return his thanks. So much weight with these people has a little appearance of thinking them worthy of notice! From the vakeel we have learnt that the same disease which has afflicted us so severely had broken out in the city of Sumptur before we crossed the Jumna, and had carried off near two hundred persons. At Chutturcote, about one hundred and twenty miles to the south-east of this place, there is at this season a mela, or religious festival and fair, at which great numbers of the natives assemble. The meeting had scarcely commenced when the pestilence broke out, and destroyed so many in the first day that the others fled with the utmost expedition from the place. The particulars of the action at Poonah have arrived, and are most creditable to the gallantry of Mr. Elphinstone and Lieutenant-Colonel Burr (who commanded our troops), as well as to the firmness of our soldiers. The Peishwa, in consonance to his habitual profligate treachery, attempted by a sudden attack to crush the Resident and the small force which the latter had with him. His Highness employed not less than 20,000 cavalry, and about half that number of infantry, in this magnanimous effort. Our force consisted of only one European battalion, and three native battalions without cavalry. On the Peishwa's troops opening their cannonade, our little force advanced, assailed the multitude, and speedily cleared the field. Mr. Elphinstone's account is dated on the 11th, up to which period none of the Peishwa's troops had ventured to show themselves again near the British camp. Brigadier-General Smith, with his division, was expected to reach Poonah next day.

December 2nd.—For the sake of taking fresh ground we have shifted the camp to the other side of Erich, continuing still as near to the banks of the river as the deep ravines will allow. In passing amidst the ruins of public buildings which attest the former extent and opulence of Erich, now a mere village, one cannot help feeling painfully the consequences of that predatory warfare which has ravaged these countries ever since the Mahrattas established themselves in

this part of India. The destruction of any monuments of human industry or taste seems an injury to mankind, but the sensation is keener when one reflects how much of individual misery must have attended the convulsion by which the desolation was effected.

December 4th.—I have received information that the Pindarries have marched in a northerly direction, as if going to Gwalior; and the rumour is strong that Scindiah has invited them thither to back him in an intended dissolution of the recent treaty. Did I think Scindiah, cramped as he is, unlikely to venture on a step so desperate and irretrievable, still nothing in war must be disregarded because it is improbable. I therefore send orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot to march with all expedition from Burwa-Saugor to the Sonari ford, on the Sinde, whither I also shall repair with the division, leaving my heavy cannon and stores at Sumptur. I have sent to apprize Scindiah of this movement, stating that I take this step in order to be at hand to cover him from the Pindarries, should he be doubtful of his own troops. He will understand this perfectly. At Sonari we shall be much nearer to Gwalior than when we were at Seeoondah.

December 6th.—Having encamped at Emroke, we received the pleasing intelligence that Brigadier-General Smith had, on the 17th of November, dispersed the Peishwa's army and taken possession of Poonah. Scindiah has had this information some days; otherwise he would have felt such disposition to imitate the example of the Rajah of Nagpore and Holkar as all his dissimulation could not have concealed. Those two chiefs have, with the most profligate treachery, been collecting forces to act against us. They are luckily, each of them, hampered beyond what either calculates.

December 7th.—Encamped at Sajanore. The country through which we have passed, and all around us, is of a singular nature. The base is a perfect flat; but there arise out of it a great number of long narrow masses of rocks, high, and broken into very picturesque forms. The masses are

insulated, with great intervals, yet all keeping the same direction. The appearance may be best described by saying that they look like remnants of many immense parallel walls, in each of which the gaps prodigiously exceed the parts left upright.

December 8th.—Encamped at Bandere, a town belonging to Scindiah. Numerous Mahomedan buildings, of handsome structure, though now much dilapidated, show that it must have been a place of considerable importance; it is now poor and small; everything withers under a Mahratta government. The impression made by my present march has been apparent. Scindiah sent to the Resident to ask if I doubted His Highness's sincerity in any point. The minister said that if I had any suspicions Scindiah would take up his abode at the Residency, or would send his father-in-law, or the fathers of his sons-in-law, to remain as hostages. The Resident judiciously declined an offer in which there could be no advantage; frankly exposing to the minister at the same time my title to complain that the Pindarries had advanced so far without opposition from His Highness's troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot has crossed the Sinde, and placed himself between the Pindarries and Gwalior. It is a hazarded movement, but perhaps requisite in the peculiar situation of affairs.

December 11th.—The intersection of the country with ravines impracticable for our artillery obliged us to make such a circuit that we have been forced to divide our route from Bandere to our present position at Sonari into three marches. The scarcity of water in these tracts narrows the choice of resting-places. Imleah and Semai, our intermediate camps in the Dutteah Rajah's territory, were in the midst of highly-cultivated plains. The land as it approaches the Sinde becomes evidently coarser, yet it is well tilled. The ground here near the river is broken into ravines in a very extraordinary manner. We are now within twenty-eight miles of Scindiah's camp, so that we ought to be neighbourly.

December 12th.—We have received an account that on

the 27th November, the Rajah of Nagpore attacked the British Residency, but was beaten off. Nothing can exceed the baseness and ingratitude of this conduct. It is to be hoped he will have to pay dear for it. On the symptoms of his evil disposition, Brigadier-General Doveton was ordered to send a force to Nagpore by Sir Thomas Hislop, and I had at the same time ordered Brigadier-General Hardyman to march thither with the King's 17th Foot, a battalion of Native Infantry, and the 8th regiment of Native Cavalry. A reinforcement of a battalion of Native Infantry with three troops of regular cavalry and two Galloper guns, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gohan, would reach the Residency on the night of the 28th November. The communication with Nagpore is now cut off by small parties of the Rajah's cavalry.

December 13th.—Astonishing alarm was created at Gwalior by our approach. The Resident has quieted it by public assurances that no hostile step was to be apprehended from our proximity. The body of Pindarries which had been pushing for Gwalior, on learning that Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot with his force was between them and the city, turned to the south-west, pointing towards the Kerowly fords of the Chumbal. Toolsie Bhye, the step-mother and guardian of young Holkar, on hearing of the Peishwa's having taken the field, collected the army, marched southward with the proclaimed intention of supporting the Peishwa, and invited Seetoo to join her with his Durrah of Pindarries then on its retreat to the west. The old lady soon found herself beset by the division from Guzerat, the division of Sir Thomas Hislop, and the division of Sir John Malcolm. The gallant army was seized with a desperate trepidation. Holkar sent to beg pardon for this freak of his mother's; asserting (which was true) that he had warned Seetoo against approaching his camp; and an answer was returned to him that matters might be accommodated. Ameer Khan appears to stand firm to his engagements.

December 14th.—The Grand Bazaar which is in the very

middle of the camp, was thrown into excessive confusion at three o'clock this morning by a pack of wolves. The animals were so bold that they were with difficulty driven away.

December 16th.—The detail of the affair at Nagpore has reached us. The repulse of the Rajah has been a glorious effort of bravery on the part of our troops. The Resident, Mr. Jenkins, had with him only two battalions of Native Infantry, his own escort of two companies, and three troops of the 16th Native Cavalry; the whole not exceeding 1350 rank and file. The force led against them by the Rajah was estimated at 20,000, with thirty-five pieces of cannon. The action was renewed at intervals during several hours, but at length terminated in the complete discomfiture of the Rajah. The despicable animal had the meanness after the defeat to send a message to the Resident, professing his sorrow for what had happened, (his sorrow at not having been able to murder an ambassador residing on the faith of alliance at his court!) and his hope that matters might be restored to the ancient footing. Mr. Jenkins answered that the Governor-General alone could determine that point. We shall speedily have troops enough at Nagpore to put affairs on a much better footing than the ancient has proved. Our loss in the action was nearly 300 killed and wounded.

December 19th.—About ten miles from this place there is a rocky hill covered with temples, built by the Jeyns or Jynes, though none of the sect are to be found in this vicinity. Many of the structures are recent, having been raised, as I am told, at the expense of wealthy individuals of that communion residing in Delhi, Agra, and other large cities. Each of the temples contains an image of Budh, of very old sculpture, and discoloured apparently from having been long buried in times of persecution. Discussions excited by these edifices have enabled me to obtain more precise information respecting the Jynes that I before possessed. Though connected by religious faith, they do not live together in any part of India as a separate tribe, but are intermixed in society like the Quakers in England. They are a peculiarly mild

people, holding the doctrine of the metempsychosis (erroneously ascribed in Europe to all the inhabitants of India), and thence refraining from destroying anything that has life. As far as I can learn they are pure Deists; the image of Budh being no object of worship with them, nor considered as a representation of the Deity. The tranquil and complacent countenance which always distinguishes the figures of Budh is said to be an exemplification of that abstracted devotion of the mind requisite, according to their notion, in the grateful admiration of the Supreme Indescribable Being. Thus, the image inculcates the tone of adoration, but is not the object of it. From sifting various accounts, and from many forcible indications, I am persuaded that this was the earliest faith prevalent in India, and that it was overset by the intrusion of the Brahminical system. The Buddhists have evidently suffered bitter persecution from the Brahmins; it is proved by an adage which I am told they frequently utter at this day, "Should you find yourself between a Hindoo and a tiger, trust to the mercy of the tiger rather than to that of the Hindoo." There is in this phrase a peculiarity very remarkable. It would seem to imply that the black race were not the aborigines of this part of India, where, indeed, the natural influence of climate seems to produce a bronzed tint like that of such Portuguese or Spaniards as in Europe are much exposed to the sun.

December 22nd.—For change of ground, the multitude of our followers rendering it difficult to keep our camp long free from offensiveness, we have shifted our position to Oochar, a spot three miles lower down the river than Sonari. We are close to two vast and elevated masses of granitic stone, the top of each of which appears perfectly level. Many suspicious symptoms have been detected in Scindiah's conduct. It is quite clear to me that had we not hastened to fix ourselves so near him, he would have taken the field in favour of the Peishwa at the same time that Holkar did.

December 24th.—An official report has been received that the native commandant of Jubbulpore (in the Nagpore

service) attempted, on the 19th, to stop Brigadier-General Hardyman, who was proceeding to the relief of the Resident with eight companies of the King's 17th Foot and the 8th Regiment of Native Cavalry. The enemy was immediately charged and routed, losing above 300 killed and wounded on the spot, with four brass field-pieces. Our loss was only thirteen killed or wounded. After the action, the inhabitants of Jubbulpore constrained the armed fugitives, who had taken refuge there, to abandon the city, which with the fort was surrendered to our troops, or rather the latter were invited into it. The city is large, and is very material as a military station. Brigadier-General Doveton arrived at Nagpore on the 12th, so that the aid of Brigadier-General Hardyman was, in fact, superfluous. His having been ordered to move in that direction is nevertheless fortunate, as this little advantage will make beneficial impression throughout that part of the country.

December 27th.—We have just fired a royal salute for an important victory gained by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop over Holkar's army, on the 21st, at Mahidpore, near Oojein. The patience and moderation with which we strove to wean that Government from its project of succouring the Peishwa was misconstrued into a doubt of our ability to coerce it, and a tone of the utmost insolence was assumed by Holkar's sirdars. They sent to advise Sir Thomas Hislop to be cautious how he interfered with them, as he would find in case of rupture that he had not to deal with raw levies but with Holkar's veterans. To crush that army was therefore indispensable. Sir Thomas Hislop appears to have done it effectually, most of Holkar's infantry having been destroyed, and all his artillery (above seventy pieces) taken. It remains to be seen whether this event will confirm Scindiah in his pacific conduct, or whether a point of honour may urge him to the desperate effort of a battle with this division (now weakened by detachments) in the hope of withdrawing pressure from the wreck of Holkar's army.

December 28th.—The advantage of changing our ground

has been made sensible to us all. Our last position was in heavy clotty soil, whereas here the sand predominates. From Christmas evening till this afternoon we have had heavy rain, which would have rendered the clay very uncomfortable. The wind has shifted to the north, and the clouds are dispelled. I am told that a similar fall of rain occurs in Bundelcund every year at this season, with not more variation than three or four days sooner or later.

December 29th.—Our guns have again fired for the dispersion of the Rajah of Nagpore's army on the 16th by Brigadier-General Doveton. The batteries were stormed with little loss on our side, and sixty-six fine brass guns were taken. The Rajah had previously surrendered himself; an evident collusion with the sirdars whom he left at the head of his army. Should they be successful, he would of course be freed; were they beaten, he could plead his personal submission as a pretension for his being left on the musnud.

1818.

JANUARY 1st.—I this day received the native officers of all the troops in camp at a levee in the durbar tent. It is an attention very flattering to thier feelings, as it exalts them in the eyes of the soldiers. They expressed their gratification strongly to some of the European officers.

January 12th.—We have remained in the same camp, the situation of which is as salubrious and as convenient for good water as it is advantageous for holding Scindiah in check. Brigadier-General Watson, with a battalion of the 7th Native Infantry, and another of 26th, has joined us. We have received the account that Lieutenant-Colonel McMorine, on the 5th, attacked, and routed with considerable slaughter, a body of 2,000 horse and 3,000 foot of Nagpore troops, which had reassembled at Sreenuggur, after the dispersion of the army by Brigadier-General Doveton on the 16th December. He took four guns, the whole of the artillery they possessed. The enemy, though they had taken up a strong position, made but a wretched resistance. On the defeat of their cavalry, which was first charged, the infantry immediately ran away to get off through the narrow streets of the town.

January 13th.—The definitive treaty of Holkar's submission has arrived. It would, at all events, have been just to punish that Government for its extraordinary faithlessness. After having anxiously solicited to be taken under British protection, and having received the kindest assurances of it, the Regent Bhye (step-mother to young Holkar), on the Peishwa's taking the field, immediately collected Holkar's army, and declared the resolution of supporting her master, as the Peishwa was termed by her. This proof of the persisting adherence of the Mahratta states to each other,

added to the great amount of force produced by the Regent, with the aid of but a moderate sum from the Peishwa, rendered it necessary to reduce the future means of Holkar to very narrow compass. The territory now left to him will not at present yield to him above sixteen lacs of rupees, or £200,000 yearly; but after five or six years of decent management it will more than double that revenue. Part of his possessions is assigned to Ameer Khan, who with fifty-two battalions and a large force of cavalry might have given us no little trouble, had we not made him see that his security and his interest would be better consulted by his attaching himself to us than by his taking a contrary part. Zalim Sing, of Kotah, gets another large portion of Holkar's territories. Extensive districts, on both banks of the Nerbudda, are ceded to us, which will be available either for exchange or as provision for those who have served us. The troops which Holkar disbands, by an article of the treaty, will probably endeavour to keep together and maintain themselves by plunder, so as to require our crushing them before they establish a new association of Pindarries. Scindiah, who has hardly disguised his intention of taking the field, should our game become embarrassed, will probably now be satisfied that he has nothing for it but to be quiet.

January 18th.—A royal salute was fired, and the troops were drawn out in line this morning, as a respect to the Queen's birthday. The appearance of the troops was very fine. I had directed the Resident at Gwalior to give notice of the ceremony, and to say that if any of Scindiah's sirdars wished to take the opportunity of seeing so considerable a body of our troops, they should be received with all possible attention. None of them, however, availed themselves of the intimation.

January 19th.—Two agreeable articles of intelligence have reached us. Roshun Khan, Roshun Beg, and Panim Sing, sirdars of Holkar's army, had declared their discontent at the treaty, and had retired to Rampoor. They endeavoured to collect, at that place, a force with which they

might act independently. Their habitual influence with Holkar's troops occasioned many to flock to this new standard; and the chiefs furnished themselves with artillery from fortresses in which friends of theirs commanded. Fortunately, Major-General Brown, who was detached with cavalry from this division, surprised them in the midst of their preparations. They were routed with much slaughter, and the loss of their artillery, amounting to eleven brass guns. Panim Sing was taken, but the other two chiefs escaped. It appears that these sirdars had caused the Regent, Toolsie Bhye, to be privately put to death the evening before the battle of Mehidpore, because she attempted to resist the plan of fighting the British army. The other occurrence was the dispersion of the Pindarries who had stuck to Kurreem Khan and Wassil Mahommed in their flight. The number was about sixteen hundred, all finely mounted. To escape from Captain Grant, who was moving against them with a body of Mysore horse, they had made a very long march during the night, and had made but a short halt, when they were attacked by the 5th Regiment of Native Cavalry, under Major Clarke, detached from the division of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams. Between nine hundred and a thousand of the Pindarries were killed in the charge or in the subsequent pursuit. Namdar Khan, a chief of note among them, was killed among the first. It is as yet uncertain whether Kurreem Khan and Wassil Mahommed escaped, since there could be no knowledge of the individuals who were cut down in a scattered chase of some miles. The fate of this party will show to the natives that no lightness of equipment or exoneration from baggage will enable an enemy to evade long the combinations of our movements.

January 22nd.—The confidence and the real strength given to the native troops by our discipline has been most strikingly exemplified by late occurrences. We have just received the official report of an uncommonly gallant resistance made by a small body of ours against a very superior force. A battalion of Bombay Native Infantry, barely 580 rank and file, under Captain Staunton, had

been sent to reinforce our garrison at Poonah. On its way it halted at a village, within three miles of which the Peishwa had happened to encamp for the day with his army. His Highness heard of our battalion, and thought it a fine opportunity to gain an easy triumph. He therefore caused the village to be assaulted by 3,000 Arabs. Making their attack with great courage, the Arabs penetrated into the village; but almost every man who entered it perished by the bayonets of our sepoy. Further attempts were made, but with less vigour and with severe loss to the assailants. At length the Peishwa abandoned the enterprise; and as the approach of Brigadier-General Smith did not allow His Highness to remain in the vicinity, the battalion found itself at liberty to prosecute its march next day.

January 26th.—For the sake of fresh ground, we have this day shifted our position to the vicinity of Launche, about seven miles from Oochar. There is here a ford across the Sinde, somewhat nearer to Gwalior than that contiguous to our last camp. No reports of consequence have been received. It appears that it was not Namdar Khan, but another chief of the name of Namdar, who was killed when the Pindarries were surprised by Major Clarke. Kurreem Khan and Wassil Mahommed escaped on that occasion. They have fled towards Bhopal, with about four hundred horse, in the utmost distress and despair.

February 2nd.—We have moved to Kinjowlie, nine miles from Launche, still keeping along the Sinde. Wassil Mahommed and Namdar Khan have sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, who was in active pursuit of them, to offer their surrender on an assurance that their lives would be spared. This promise was given, so that they probably yielded themselves immediately. Their negotiator, a Bhopal officer, did not disguise their miserable condition. He represented them as starving in the jungles, amid which they had separated in parties of eight and ten. Kurreem Khan, either from sickness or a wound, had quitted them with the purpose of hiding himself in some village.

February 4th.—Jeswunt Rao Bhow, commanding a detached army of Scindiah's at Jawud, had furnished Cheetoo with provisions while he was retreating with his body of Pindarries through the territories under the Bhow's rule; and he had further sent to Cheetoo intelligence of the approach of our cavalry, which otherwise would have surprised that chief. These facts were perfectly ascertained; yet Jeswunt Rao was informed they should be overlooked if he gave no fresh cause of complaint. Our moderation only encouraged his laxity. It was discovered that subsequent to the warning he had enrolled a large number of the troops which had seceded from Holkar's army on the signature of the treaty, and that Pindarries newly sheltered were actually in his camp. He was required to dismiss the former, to surrender the latter, and to give up to us the two officers who had been the more immediate instruments in this violation of the articles. Information being received that the Bhow's cavalry were saddled, and meant to escort the Pindarries out of our reach, Major-General Brown directed a squadron of our cavalry to occupy the road by which the escape was intended, while he should renew his remonstrances to the Bhow. Jeswunt Rao showed little attention to the General's representations; and in the meantime the Bhow's infantry advancing with cannon opened a fire on our squadron. Major-General Brown, on this hostile aggression, immediately attacked the camp, where he made considerable slaughter. The broken troops of the Bhow took refuge in the fortified town of Jawad; but Major-General Brown soon blew open a gate with one of his twelve-pounders, and forced them to throw down their arms. Jeswunt Rao Bhow escaped with a few mounted followers by the opposite gate. Twelve pieces of cannon were taken, with much other booty. Scindiah had been apprized by me that this chastisement would be inflicted if the Bhow persevered in his infractions of the treaty. I know not how His Highness will relish the realization of the threat. This flagellation of a refractory general and petulant troops is no bad hint to the rest of Scindiah's sirdars, or indeed to the Maharajah himself. An official account is received that Cheetoo endeavoured to pass the Narbudda at

different places, in order to join the Peishwa, but was prevented by our guards on the opposite bank. He then directed his course eastward, keeping near to the river. Lieutenant-Colonel Heath, stationed at Hindia, on the southern bank, heard of him, crossed with a detachment in boats during the night, and completely surprised Cheetoo's camp. The chief himself escaped. His son, his brother, and a great number of his men were killed. Everything belonging to the party was taken, including some hundred horses and camels. Lieutenant-Colonel Adams had heard of Cheetoo's easterly march, and was advancing to look for him, so that the unhappy wretch is not likely to find repose. It is quite curious how that great body, of from twenty-five to thirty thousand horsemen, has been dissolved within the short space of ten weeks. They have expiated by dreadful sufferings the horrid cruelties which they had antecedently exercised upon others.

February 19th.—Nothing worthy of notice has occurred since the last date. Our only military intelligence is of skirmishes against the cavalry with which the Peishwa endeavours to cover his retreat. On all these occasions the superiority of our disciplined native cavalry is brilliantly displayed. The Peishwa has been forced to retreat beyond the Kistna. He had the villainy to send a secret offer of poisoning Gokla, the general of his army, if in consequence we would admit him to terms; for by way of exonerating himself, he taxed Gokla as the author of all the violences at Poonah; adding that Gokla kept him (the Peishwa) in thralldom, and would not allow him to throw himself on British generosity. It is superfluous to say that the proposition was met with undisguised abhorrence. All appearances at Gwalior being tranquil, we left the banks of the Sindé six days ago, and are now encamped close to our bridge over the Jumna. Four months only will have elapsed to-morrow since the assembling of this division at Secundra. The actual campaign lasted but three months, and in that short space of time the alteration wrought in Central India is so extraordinary that one feels oneself still too near it to comprehend

it thoroughly. In security, in tranquillity, and in revenue, our gain is very great; in honour the return is not, I trust, less ample; for justice and liberality have been as conspicuous as valour in the conduct of all our officers. Our Bundelah allies have shown a glowing gratitude for the extinction of the Pindarries. To the Rajah of Dutteah, who had most distinguished himself by activity in procuring supplies of grain for our camp, I presented two brass six-pounder field-pieces. He was wild with transport at such a favour; and as he did not get the guns into his town till eight at night, he began at that hour a salute with them which I suspect was only stopped at last by failure of ammunition. When we quitted the Sindé, Brigadier-General Watson was sent with three battalions of Native Infantry, the 7th Native Cavalry, and the battering train, to join Major-General Marshall at Bairseah.

February 21st.—This morning we re-crossed the Jumna, and are encamped at Ooreea. As a large elephant loaded with baggage was coming into the camp, he took some offence at another which was not of equal strength, and chased the latter among the tents. At length the pursuer overtook the fugitive, and seized its tail with his trunk; but instead of twisting off a piece of the tail, an injury often inflicted by elephants on each other, he seemed satisfied with alarming the object of his anger, and did not offer any harm to it with either his trunk or tusks. Some spearmen ran to deliver the smaller elephant; on this the rioter desisted; and, as if conscious that he had done wrong in occasioning so much bustle, the docile animal salaamed to the people, and held up its leg to have a chain put upon it. The salaam, or compliment which they are instructed by their drivers to pay to persons of rank, is performed by the elephant's bending back his proboscis and touching his own forehead with it. In other cases, it is done at the command of the driver, but in this instance it was spontaneous, which is an extremely curious circumstance, as it evinces the comprehension of the animal that the gesture was conciliatory or respectful.

February 24th.—Reached Cawnpore. I was met by a letter from the Resident at Lucknow, mentioning that the Nawab Vizeer, in consequence of learning the shortness of my intended stay at that station, wanted to set off by dawk to pay his attentions; that is, he proposed to travel post in a palankeen by relays of bearers arranged by the post office. The notion of undertaking an exertion which required a sacrifice of all the conveniences held indispensable by an Indian prince towards ordinary movement evinces great eagerness to prove respect; perhaps I might more justly say to indulge attachment, for I really believe such to be the Nawab Vizeer's unaffected feeling. His devotion has been cheaply purchased, since we have been no more than simply just towards him; but then justice is so rare among the natives themselves that they feel it marvellously when they happen to be the object of its application. The Resident repressed the plan by saying, that on account of the uncertainty which would attend my motions I had directed him to entreat that the Nawab Vizeer might not come forward from Lucknow.

February 27th.—Yesterday the last of the troops destined to re-occupy these cantonments settled themselves quietly in their barracks. This early return to quarters is not only important for the health of the men, (the hot winds being near at hand), but is a great diminution of expense for the Company. The magnitude of the force which we had in the field unavoidably occasioned a prodigious charge. It was hoped that its amount would prevent contest. At all events, the bringing forward such strength was deemed a sure mode of rendering the completion of our purposes speedy, and in this we had not been disappointed. The cessions of territory which the unprovoked hostility of Holkar and the Nagpore Rajah has forced us to exact from those princes, will have an effect beyond the merely paying for the troops required to preclude a repetition of such wanton attacks. The corps kept in advance for that purpose will in their forward position defend our old frontier, as well as if it were their former line, so that no addition need be

made to our establishment beyond three or four battalions of invalids to garrison fortresses. The difference between keeping these latter embodied, or the paying them pensions in their several districts will be trifling. The real result will therefore be that the Bengal establishment will have about twelve battalions of its Native Infantry paid by the ceded territory; which comes to the same thing as throwing an annual sum equal to the pay of those troops into the treasury. If the Peishwa be at length as decisively subdued as we have reason to expect, a large portion will be taken for the Company from his dominions; in which case, this campaign instead of being burdensome to the Company's finances will have benefited them extremely.

February 28th.—The fort of Sattarah, in the Peishwa's country, has been taken by Brigadier-General Smith, after two hours' bombardment. Our people have at last been taught the use of mortars, which they seem never to have considered before. The capture of Sattarah is useful, from the position of the fort; but it is further so from the habitual contemplation of that place by the Mahrattas as the heart of their empire. The Rajah of Sattarah is the hereditary sovereign of the Mahrattas; and, though held a prisoner by the Peishwa, who (like the French Mairs du Palais) usurped the powers of Government, he is still nominally the chief. Bajee Rao's family being Brahminical, a member of it cannot be a sovereign; but Bajee Rao reigns under the title of Peishwa, equivalent to Vizeer and keeps up the farce of asking once a year the orders of the Rajah, whom he retains in captivity. Aware of the probability that we should endeavour to give the Rajah an independent sovereignty, the Peishwa, on his flight from Poonah, took the unfortunate Prince, who is only fourteen years of age, out of the fort, and has been dragging the young man about with him. The Prince's life runs great risk from this jealousy. Kurreem Khan, Cheetoo or Seetoo, and Namdar Khan, principal Pindarry chiefs, have surrendered themselves unconditionally. The former was in Jawud, concealed by Juswunt Rao Bhow, when the town was taken. Not being

able to get a horse in time to escape with the Bhow, he hid himself in an obscure corner, and at night he got out at the gate unnoticed, from being without clothes. Attempting to scramble over some rocky hills, he hurt his feet so much as to be unable to proceed, and in the morning he called to some straggling sepoy and requested them to take him to the General. He has been perfectly well treated, as is the case with the others, who, finding all retreat cut off, threw themselves on the mercy of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams. They all agree in the same story, that Scindiah sent a confidential agent to plight his assurance of support to them if they would direct their course to Gwalior. The agent particularly told them that Umbajee Punt (one of Scindiah's generals), with eight battalions and thirty-four pieces of cannon, would join them in the first instance, and that further succour should be afforded as they advanced. Umbajee Punt did move from the neighbourhood of Oojein with the force specified, pretending that his troops had mutinied for want of pay, and had brought him eastward in restraint, which would have otherwise been a violation of the treaty; but before that force could pass the Chumbul, the Pindarries had been completely dispersed. At the time, I believed this movement of Umbajee Punt's to be made with the object mentioned, and by the secret direction of Scindiah; but the principle of manifesting our forbearance to the last prevented any notice being taken of the step, other than by the Resident's telling Scindiah's minister, laughingly that he must not imagine us really duped.

March 2nd.—Yesterday we crossed the Ganges; but in order to fashion our new camp properly, we did not advance more than two miles from its bank. This day we have reached Onaum, and are attended by Hafez Ali Khan, who is deputed by the Nawab Vizeer for the purpose, with tents, cooks, and a suwarry, besides an escort of cavalry and infantry. The troops contrast admirably with the bodyguard, and the 2nd battalion 25th Native Infantry, which accompany me.

March 4th.—We encamped yesterday at Nya Serai, and

this day we halted at Boodleke Thukeea, on our approach to which we were met by Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah (formerly called Nusser-oo-Deen),* the Vizeer's eldest son, and the minister Mootummud-oo-Dowlah. They came in great state, but breakfasted with us without formality. In the evening they dined with me. A rich khelaut, with a palankeen, elephant, and horse, was conferred on the minister, the Nawab Vizeer having expressed to the acting Resident his solicitude that I should treat the minister with distinction.

March 5th.—We moved very early this morning. At sunrise, we met the Nawab Vizeer about three miles from Lucknow. I believe that each of us felt unaffected pleasure at this renewal of acquaintance. I quitted my own elephant to sit beside the Nawab Vizeer in his howdah. Thus we proceeded through the streets of the city to the palace. I lamented to find that the objectionable practice of scattering rupees among the populace was still kept up, and I was obliged to bear my share in doing what I censure, as the Nawab would otherwise not have thought himself at liberty to bestow this gratuity on the crowd, while he would have been secretly hurt at being restrained from displaying the expected liberality. I owe courteous compliances to one who assisted me during the late campaign with above one hundred elephants for carrying the tents of the European troops. The scramble for the rupees is attended with numberless acts of brutal violence: the young and active extorting from the aged and infirm, or from women, the money which the feebler had the good luck to catch. I saw several blind persons dispossessed in that manner of the piece which I had managed to throw into the skirt of the garment held out by them. Nobody seemed to think it worthwhile to interfere for either the prevention or the punishment of the injustice. I was repeatedly duped by men apparently blind, who were led by others, but who immediately abandoned the disguise when the exertion of their sight was

* The young Prince Nusser-oo-Deen predeceased his father, who was succeeded by an *adopted* son, (never believed to be his own) and therefore the present is no *relation* to the *first* King of Oude.

necessary towards securing a rupee that had fallen to the ground. The fraud was most dexterously performed. We breakfasted at the palace of Furruh Buksh, with the Nawab, after a contestation in the preliminary durbar, where I obliged him to take the right of me on the musnud. To break a connexion which possible (though not probable) circumstances might make troublesome, I insist on considering him an entirely independent sovereign, not as the Vizeer of the Mogul Empire in India. After breakfast, I retired to the British Residency, close to the palace, where I have fixed my quarters. The Resident, Mr. Monckton, is not here. During his absence, the business is ably conducted by his first assistant, Captain Raper.

March 6th.—The Nawab Vizeer breakfasted with me; I had previously ridden to the park of Dilkoosha, which appeared to be very well-kept in order. He seemed much gratified when I told him I had done so.

March 7th.—Having been told that it would be a pleasing compliment to the Nawab Vizeer if I would breakfast with Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, I accepted an invitation from the young Prince, and went to his house this morning. The Nawab Vizeer and all the principal persons of the court were there. After breakfast, we repaired to Khoorsheed Munzil (mansion of the sun), a palace which the Nawab Vizeer has just completed. It is a small turreted building, representing a castle, with a moat, not ten feet broad, round it, and a tiny bridge.

In the principal room, my portrait occupied one end, and a full length of Mademoiselle Parisot, copied from the print, decorated the other. There did not appear to me to be any place for attendants in this edifice, so that I suppose it is only intended as a place at which a breakfast may be occasionally given. It is about a mile from the town palace of Furruh Buksh, and a small park is forming. The building of it is just one of those expedients to which a person of unextended views is obliged to resort in order to get rid of superabundant wealth. At half-past six in the evening, we

dined with the Nawab Vizeer. There was the usual entertainment of singing girls, who were as little calculated to please the eye as to gratify a European ear. But we had one accompaniment, novel at the feast of a native sovereign; an Irish bagpiper, Jerry Gahagan, whom the Nawab Vizeer has taken into his service, at a large salary, is a very good performer. One of the courtiers told me with a good deal of jocularly, that Jerry often disappointed the Nawab by sudden attacks of sickness (as they were construed) after dinner. On those occasions Jerry used to retire to his bed, at the foot of which a bull-dog was chained, and at the head of it a large monkey. These trusty guardians would not let anybody approach to inquire into their master's malady. The narrator chuckled exceedingly at the Nawab's want of perception that the dram-bottle was Jerry's only disorder.

March 8th.—Prince Soliman Shekoh, and Prince Mirza Secunder Shekoh, brothers of the King of Delhi, breakfasted with me. In the early part of the morning I had gone to see the menagerie, having been told that I should find there a wild man. He was said to have been dug out a hole in a bank near the Gorkha Hills, having been seen to creep into it when cut off from escaping, after five or six others who made their way into the jungle. By the description, he was sullen and ferocious, his language being quite unintelligible. In proof of his being wild, it was mentioned that when taken he was in a state of complete nudity; a proof not very conclusive, as I have seen the fakeers in our own provinces entirely naked. There was nothing peculiar in the man's appearance. He was small, but that is the case with all the inhabitants of the first range of hills. Instead of manifesting any savageness, he smirked and followed us throughout the menagerie, probably observing from the testimonies of respect paid to us that our party consisted of persons of rank. I asked if any one who could speak the Gorkha language had ever been brought to address him, and was answered in the negative. I am satisfied that this supposed wild man is only a native of the hills, who with others had been obliged for some criminal act to seek refuge in the jungles. A large hole,

the mouth of which could be easily blocked against beasts of prey, would be the likeliest shelter for such fugitives during the night. The Nawab Vizeer and all his principal nobles dined with me. The courtiers are very splendid on these occasions, being all dressed in brocades or richly-embroidered cloth, with fine turbans. Elsewhere but in the Nawab Vizeer's dominions, the Mussulmans generally make a difficulty about sitting at table with Christians; but here there is no such objection, and the guests eat freely of our dishes. I had understood that the Mahommedans were strict against using the left hand in eating; this day, however, I had a proof to the contrary. There is a Hindostanee mode of dressing a fowl, by which, after having absorbed much spice, it is served up quite dry, and done as we term it to rags. One of the Lucknow nobles, who sat opposite to me, took a whole fowl of this sort upon his plate, and holding it with one hand, he with the other (interchangeably) employed his fingers so dexterously as to pinch off from the bones every particle that could be swallowed. Another drew to himself at the dessert a dish of lemonade ice, all of which he managed to dispatch, though it required the fingers of both hands to get each piece up to his mouth, as he did not use a spoon.

March 9th.—I rode this morning to see the Char Bagh, a garden of the Nawab's, between two and three miles' distance from Lucknow. It is of great extent, but totally neglected. From the quantity of trees, it would afford positions for several elegant villas, and I was surprised to see such a tract of ground apparently deserted so near a city to which so many natives of rank resort. Probably there is some superstition or prejudice in the case. The late Nawab Vizeer, Saadut Ali, ordered out from England an iron bridge, which he intended to erect over the Goomtee. It arrived safe at Lucknow, with two English mechanics destined to put it up. The purpose of raising it is abandoned; and the reason is avowed—namely, that as it is deeply unlucky to complete a bridge begun by one's father, there would be danger that the evil fortune might extend even to a bridge bespoken by a parent. After breakfast, I returned the visit of the Delhi

Princes. On my return, I held a durbar, the monotony of which was a little relieved by the compliments which the natives were enabled to pay on news just received from Poonah. Brigadier-General Smith with his cavalry, on the 18th February, surprised the Peishwa, who, on the supposition that he should make the overtaking him impracticable, had thrown all his infantry and artillery into his forts, and kept the field with only his numerous horse. Gokla, the Peishwa's chief commander, put himself at the head of about 3,000 men and made a gallant charge. He was, however, immediately killed, and the body which he had led being driven in confusion among those who were endeavouring to prepare their horses, all was thrown into irreparable disorder. The Peishwa sprang upon a fleet horse, and went off with the utmost speed; every man as fast as could mount followed the example. The pursuit was continued as long as the horses of our troops, who had made a march of thirty miles to get at the enemy, could furnish a gallop. The Mahrattas did not leave above 300 on the spot, but the panic in which the survivors fled would have all the effect of a more bloody victory. What was still more important, the Rajah of Sattarah and his family fell into our hands. If their exultation upon finding themselves transferred from the Peishwa (by whom they feared to be murdered) to us, with whom they believed their lives to be safe, was great, their astonishment was not less when they were informed that we meant to raise the Rajah to an independent sovereignty. The Peishwa was aware that such was likely to be our policy, and on that account he had dragged the unfortunate family into the field with him. The Nawab Vizeer, on learning this success, ordered a royal salute to be fired from each of the forts in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. In the evening, we dined with the Nawab Vizeer. Fireworks in the garden of the palace succeeded the dinner; and then I took leave, having previously insisted that not either the Nawab Vizeer or his son should accompany me during any part of the march towards the Gogra. There was no affectation in the regret professed on both sides at parting. The young Prince said to the Resident sorrowfully, "Have I no chance of seeing him again?" The Nawab Vizeer himself

had all the appearance of being excessively moved. The consciousness of reciprocal good offices has produced the sensation on both sides. This impression was so prominent in my mind, that the minuting it has made me pass over a circumstance worth mentioning. While I was sitting on the musnud with the Nawab Vizeer, waiting till dinner should be announced, seventeen sons of Ramzaun Ali Khan (one of the principal nobles) were brought up to present nuzzurs to me. On my expressing admiration at the show of so large a family, I was told that he had at home twenty children more, either females, or males too young to be introduced. Knowing that Ramzaun Ali Khan was not opulent, I was vexed at seeing his sons expensively dressed to pay that short compliment; till, after dinner, I learnt that the Nawab Vizeer had liberally ordered them to be completely equipped at his cost.

March 10th.—We crossed the Goomtee soon after dawn by an excellent bridge of boats which the Nawab Vizeer had ordered to be prepared, and we advanced about seven miles to Cheynhaut, where we found our camp pitched.

March 11th.—We marched to Nawabgunge. On setting out in the morning, I found myself beset by an immense crowd of Lucknow beggars, who had pestered us during the whole of yesterday. Learning that it was their intention to accompany me at least till I should pass the Gogra, I applied for the assistance of Hafez Uln Khan, the darogha, who had been appointed by the Nawab Vizeer to attend me as long as I should remain within his dominions. He assured me that the camp should be free from them to-morrow; but he told one of the gentlemen that his not interfering without orders was on account of its being thought rather a matter of dignity to have those clamorous paupers in the train of the Nawab Vizeer's escort. Exclusive of the teasing importunity of these gentry, who endeavour to extort money by their noise, the numerous thefts committed in our camp last night render such appendages very inconvenient. Among the crowd, I recognised a fellow who had twice deceived me at

Lucknow by personating a blind man, and who laughed heartily the second time at the success of his imposture.

March 12th.—This day we reached Massowlie. The country through which we have passed is beautiful. It is, indeed, a dead flat, but it is covered as far as the eye can reach in every direction, with heavy crops of wheat, and decorated with extensive groves of large mango trees. Numerous pools of water add to the variety of the scene.

March 13th.—Arrived at Byram Ghaut on the Gogra. There is here a cantonment, occupied by a detachment from Secrora (at some distance beyond the river), with two pieces of cannon. The troops who now hold the station belong to the 1st battalion of the 2nd Native Infantry. Major Duncan, commanding the battalion, joined us yesterday. He speaks in high terms of the salubrity and comforts of Secrora and Byram Ghaut. That the quality of the country was altered, appeared from our being encamped on something very like a grass plot. I have seen a worse attempt at greensward in many a field of Norfolk that had been laid down as grass for three or four years. We found here a darogha dispatched by the Nawab Vizeer to collect and superintend boats for our passage of the river. A more magnificent man I have not seen for a long time. He met me on a horse richly caparisoned, himself being clothed in fine brocade trimmed with fur. His elephant and his gaudy palankeen followed him, so that he was in the height of state. I regretted to tell him that he was to have the trouble of getting his boats up the Chowka Nuddee, which is a branch that separates itself from the Gogra above Kyreeghur and rejoins the river at this place.

March 14h.—Reached Lalpore.

March 16th.—We yesterday reached Bansorah, where we are now encamped. There were so few boats up that we made little progress in getting our things across the Nuddee (stream) till this morning. The fault did not lie with the

darogha, who is no less active than gorgeous; but the large boats could not remount the current so as to keep pace with our march. The great difficulty has been the getting the camels across. Four have been drowned to-day by staggering off the platform-boats into the water. They are helpless in these circumstances. The faculty of swimming would be uselessly bestowed on an animal whose frame and qualities appear to have a special adaptation to the regions where he is indigenous. His length of leg and broad fleshy foot, with a comparative exility of trunk, are admirably suited to the traversing rapidly wide tracts of sand; while the same peculiarity of conformation unfits him for swimming, an exercise to which he never can be called in his original country. The elephants swim particularly well. One, however, refused to take the water to-day; a strong rope was then put round his neck and fastened to the neck of another elephant, who dragged the stubborn one towards the water, while another pushed him behind. In that manner they soon got him off the bank, when he swam across with great tranquillity.

March 17th.—We crossed this morning, having in the interval learned that there was no truth in the information which we had received at Lalpore, as to the interference of a second channel with our route. It was the artifice of the zemindar, who wished to dissuade us from coming into the lands belonging to him, lest the standing crops should suffer from us as much damage as they would from the Nawab's hunting party. If he heard the assertion that we should pay for any injury we might do, I am sure he would not believe it. On landing, we were met by the Aumil (superintendent of the province), Hakeem Mehdy Ali Khan, with his brother and many attendants. The Aumil told me he had the Nawab Vizeer's orders to attend me throughout all the territories within his jurisdiction. In our way to Terwah, where we have taken up our ground, we have passed through a country as highly cultivated as that which we left on the other side of the Chowka Nuddee. The wheat is not shown in drills, as is the case in Bundelcund; but the crops are most luxuriant, and not a weed to be seen in any of them. I asked the

Hakeem how the corn was kept so clean to which he answered that it was owing to the unremitting attention of every one to destroy weeds, wheresoever they found them growing in the roads or fields near the villages, so that there was not any seed of them to be carried by the wind into the ploughed ground.

March 18th.—In our road to Poorunpore, we have beaten an extensive Jow (tamarisk) jungle but we could not find a tiger, though we were assured that one haunted the place. A list of the current prices of articles in the surrounding villages is given to me every day soon after we have halted, that by such a check I may prevent the camp bazaar from making the soldiers and camp-followers pay exorbitantly. From to-day's list, I infer that poultry must be in great plenty in this country; for eggs are at one hundred and fifty-six for a rupee; that is, at the rate of five eggs for less than an English penny.

March 19th.—Sir David Ochterlony has arrived in camp, having come in his palankeen, with relays of bearers, from his division in the Jyepore territory. He was accompanied by my old acquaintance, the Nawab Ahmed Buksh, whom I was really glad to see again.

March 20th.—We retraced our steps to Terwah, our route to Poorunpore having been easterly. At noon to-day I invested Sir David Ochterlony with the ribbon of the Grand Cross of the Bath. The Hakeem and the Lucknow functionaries attendant on me, with all the native as well as all the European officers of our camp, were invited to give as much character as possible to the ceremony. In the evening, I had a dinner, at which all the European gentlemen were present. The Aumil, or Hakeem, though he has absolute rule over a territory as large as three or four English counties, is not (according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which changeth not) of rank to sit at table with me. Ahmed Buksh possesses the due elevation, and is my guest as long as he remains in camp. He has as little scruple as the Lucknow Mussulmans about eating with us.

March 21st.—Reached Peterassee Ghaut, on the Gogra, and found above seventy large boats assembled for us. We have agreed to continue on this side of the river for four or five marches more. I noticed to-day the laborious mode in which the fields are tilled. The soil, very tenacious, is broken up with heavy hoes, evidently from the inefficiency of the miserable kind of plough which alone is known in this country. The clods are then broken with clubs, after which the surface is pulverized with a light harrow. Great industry must be used to produce what I witness.

March 22nd.—Moved, and encamped at Mullapore. Praising, to the Hakeem, the condition in which I saw the districts under his superintendence, I asked what was the encouragement he gave to cultivators who undertook to reclaim jungle land. He said that from the first crop he took nothing, from the second he took a seventh, which he did not augment for two or three years more, till it was seen that the undertaking was decidedly beneficial to the speculator. In that case, a fifth of the crop is demanded for Government. It is taken in kind, and is the only deduction from the profit of the husbandman. In old cultivated districts, a third or a composition for it is exacted by Government.

March 25th.—We marched on the 23rd to Sereea; all a cultivated country. This morning we reached a spot still called Rajapore, from the name of a large village which no longer exists. The Aumil, with great judgment, built four villages, each at a distance of about a mile from this place; and he divided the families of the ancient village among them, taking care to make their new accommodation more agreeable than the old. In this manner, with but a moderate outlay of money, he gave to the people such facilities for bringing the jungle into cultivation, that they set about it vigorously, and have brought a very considerable tract into good tilth. I observed a curious circumstance in fording a river. The number of elephants which took the water at once produced such an agitation in it as alarmed

the fish to some distance, and I saw several of the fresh-water mullets skip along the surface for fifty or sixty yards. Their whole bodies were seen, and they only touched the top of the water by a succession of bounds. This fish is often seen in Bengal during the hot weather, swimming for some time with its head entirely out of the water.

March 26th.—I have omitted to mention that Sir David Ochterlony left us on the night of the 22nd, to return to his troops in the Jyepore country. The interview with him has enabled me to settle all the arrangements for maintaining a field (or advanced) force in a position calculated to afford ready means of crushing any attempts at troubling the security which we have promised to the Rajpoot States. Ahmed Buksh manifested a hardsome spirit of disinterestedness. When I learned that he had accompanied Sir D. Ochterlony, I suspected that he had some application to make; but he never insinuated any request, nor do I believe that he contemplated any advantage. When I was in the Upper Provinces, three years ago, I distinguished him by civilities, from liking the manliness of his character. To show his sense of that attention, he undertook this toilsome jaunt of 400 miles (day and night) in palankeen, having to retrace the same extent. The fact proves how much influence attends a little politeness from any of our functionaries in high station. I gave him a valuable sword when he took leave. We had yesterday evening sent forward the baggage to Pursah, the place where we are now encamped.

March 27th.—We halted at Pursah, Fahrenheit's thermometer is now usually about 95° in the middle of the day. Rain having fallen in the night, I this morning saw again the glorious range of mountains which separates Hindostan from Tartary. At this season, though the air seems perfectly clear, there exists a haze which prevents even any dim adumbration of the mountains from being perceivable, unless after copious showers. The snowy peaks are still indistinct, showing themselves only like patches of

white clouds, as if sky intervened between them and the highest ridge of the black mountains; yet the bold abruptness with which this vast barrier rises from the plain is exceedingly striking to an eye accustomed to the ordinary uniformity of surface in the provinces bordering on the Ganges. Perhaps there is more than mere contrast in this. I believe that there is in our nature a notion of sublimity attached to elevation, and some indistinct conception of making oneself a momentary partaker of the superiority is a more operative cause of the propensity one feels for clambering up eminences, than any curiosity from the expectation of an extensive view.

March 28th.—We set out before daybreak for Muttairy.

March 29th.—This being Sunday, there was, of course, no shooting; but it was necessary to proceed to Rummia-Bheer, in order that on the morrow the principal part of our baggage might be dispatched across the Gogra before us. In riding from Muttairy to the present ground, a circumstance occurred which shows how deficient natives of rank are, not only in general knowledge, but in information relative to facts appertaining to their immediate vicinity. One of my aides-de-camp pointed out to Mirza Hadi the brilliancy with which one of the peaks of the Himalaya ridge exhibited itself, from being illumined by the rays of the rising sun. Mirza Hadi agreed in the observation, and accounted for the appearance by saying that it arose from the whiteness of the freestone which composed those peaks. On the officer's telling him that what he saw was the snow which permanently covered that range of mountains, Mirza Hadi laughed in ridicule of the notion; asking how it should be conceived that snow should lie unmelted on the peaks when there was not any on the plain, since those summits were so much nearer the sun. Yet Mirza Hadi is not only able in his management of the district under his brother, the Aumil, but lives in constant society with the latter, whose title of Hakeem (learned man) ought to imply that he had the means of communicating some principles of natural history.

March 30th.—We remained at Rummia-Bheer.

March 31st.—We had fixed to march to Mudaneeah. In the night, a villager arrived to inform us that a few hours before a tiger had attempted to carry off a labourer, who had, however, been luckily saved by some of his comrades, whose shouts had intimidated the tiger. They had been resting themselves in the jungle, and were not seen by the animal when he approached the poor fellow, who was working in a field. I set out before day to look for this ferocious creature, imagining that its haunt did not lie very wide of the line of march. The guide, however, carried us off a long way. The tiger was not found, though numerous prints of his feet in the sand evinced that he frequented the jungle which we were beating. After a long and tiresome circuit, we crossed the Gogra over a bridge of boats, which the Aumil had caused to be constructed. It was well made, though not in the capital style of our bridge across the Jumna. The branch of the Gogra which we thus passed is at present only 180 yards wide, though the dry sand on each side shows that in the rainy season it must be an immense stream. We forded another branch, and reached our camp at Mudaneeah somewhat after eleven o'clock, by which time the heat was intense.

April 1st.—We went out to look for tigers on the island between the two branches of the Gogra, being told by the people that five had haunted it for some time. The traces of their feet in the sand were so numerous as to prove that the place had been recently frequented by more than one. But though we beat the jungles with great accuracy, we did not find any. Having restricted ourselves from shooting at other game, the day's sport was lost. Another party saw a tiger, which escaped them. It is curious to observe the force of habit. Were a tiger to get away from a showman in England, and to be supposed hidden in some of the copses, no person would venture to labour in any of the neighbouring fields. Here, the people not only work close to the usual lair of tigers often seen by them, but actually follow their cattle into those jungles. Nor does this proceed from any experience

that the tiger, if unprovoked, is not likely to attack them; for they have constant instances of the animal's seeking to prey upon men. The danger is one to which their minds have been accustomed from youth, and they consider it as a condition inseparable from their existence.

April 2nd.—We marched nearly north of Bhurtpore, beating some jungle and killing some deer in our way. The country here is nearly untilled. It consists of extensive plains checkered with open woods of the Seesoo. This tree, in its general appearance, much resembles an old birch, except that the leaves are of a livelier green; but its timber is strong and serviceable. The plains are covered with grass, which, though it does not form a sward like that in England, is rich and succulent. It is the Doob grass. Numerous parties of the Brinjarries have fixed their temporary habitations throughout this tract for the purpose of pasturing their cattle during the dry season. Their huts are very simple. They are composed of reeds, and look like long narrow roofs taken off from thatched cottages. Being without upright walls, they appear not to allow height for any one to sit at his ease but just in the centre. This, however, is of little importance to the owners; because, as they always select a spot close to a grove, they sit (both men and women) under the trees in the day, using the hut only for sleeping. The herds of cattle belonging to these stations, respectively, seem to run from a thousand head to thrice that number.

April 3rd.—Arriving at our present ground of Mohaneeah, we learned that a native had been badly wounded by a tiger. The head serjeant of the Quartermaster-General's department had been just questioning the poor fellow about the places at which a nullah, apparently muddy was passable; he had gone but a little way from him, when he was called back by the screams of the man, who was, however, providentially delivered before the serjeant could approach. The man had been passing near a reed-bed; the tiger suddenly dashed out upon him and attempted to carry him off. A herd of buffaloes, of which the man had the care, chanced to be close

to him; bold from being in a mass, they charged the tiger, and forced him to quit his prey. The man was so much torn that his recovery is doubtful. We went out this afternoon, as soon as the sun had got tolerably low, to look for this tiger; but we were foiled by the swampiness of the ground. Several elephants were bogged immediately, and we found it wholly impracticable to beat the jungle, which was of great extent.

April 5th.—We marched yesterday to Simrie, and thence this day to Kuckera; both marches in a south-easterly direction. The greater part of this morning's track was through a part of the forest. It is devoid of underwood; the timber in general shabby, though now and then a fine saul-tree occurred. The length and straightness of bole in that tree, as well as the tough, durable quality of the wood, renders such timber valuable. I have noticed a phenomenon, which the inhabitants of these parts call the double dawn. The day appears to break, but those first streaks of light pass away, and the sky becomes again obscure for a minute or two, when the light shows itself anew and augments rapidly. The cause is easily comprehended. The ridge of mountains is to the east of us. The first rays of the sun striking on the snowy summits produce a reflection of light on clouds immediately above. As the sun rises the ray no longer takes the snow in the angle necessary to produce the effect, while the elevation of the interjacent mountains retards our view of the ordinary dawn. Our proximity to the snowy range makes the air really cold till about eight o'clock; and although in the middle of the day the thermometer reaches 90°, we have not had any sensation of the hot wind which we learn has for three weeks past been strong at Lucknow.

April 6th.—Marched south-east to Kureecha, principally through the forest. When we came out upon an extensive plain, on which the woodcutters have erected the congregation of huts denominated a village, I observed the camp-followers eating greedily something which they appeared to collect among the grass. On my inquiring what it was which they seemed to relish so much, some plants of the grass (pulled

up by the roots) were brought to me. The blade of the grass is not, at this season at least, above three inches in length. It is hard, tough, and devoid of succulence. The tufts grow detached from each other, not producing anything like a sward; but each plant had a number of short thick stems; on these there were found many white excrescences, from the bigness of the largest pea to double that size. These were evidently exudations from the sap. They were saccharine and farinaceous; so that they were pleasant and probably nutritive. One might be tempted to admire this economy of nature, which provides by an unusual process a food for animals denied in the quality of the leaf itself, did one not recollect the sandy deserts where no substitute for ordinary nourishment is discoverable. The motives for bestowing a boon or withholding it are equally beyond our reach. Shall a worm measure the wisdom of the Almighty?

April 8th.—Yesterday morning we reached through a skirt of the forest to Basbureeah, an assemblage or reed-huts belonging to some new settlers, who have just cleared or broken up an extensive tract for cultivation. It is only two miles from Namparah, which is mentioned as a considerable town. We met here Sir Roger Martin, Mr. Forde, Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts, Mr. Ainslie, and Captain Stoneham, who had come from their neighbouring stations to join me. Some of our camp-elephants who followed us with baggage were stopped in the wood by a large wild elephant; he did not attempt to injure them, but would not let them pass. When the officers commanding the rear-guard came up, he made some of his men load and fire at the stranger, who went off in consequence, but quite leisurely. This morning we have by the advice of Sir R. Martin made a march of fifteen miles, in nearly a northerly direction, to reach the bank of the Rpty; and we have halted near a village called Koolwye. The country on this side of the Rpty is a plain, part of it terroiee, which implies land prepared for rice crops. The soil is singularly productive in that grain. The forest comes down to the other side of the river, which is a clear gently-flowing stream, with some stones in its channel, but still not

a pebbly bottom. We are now within seven or eight miles of the first range of mountains. They are wooded and have a bold appearance; but the sublime effect of the entire ridge is lost by our being too near the intervening ranges to see the principal one. In contemplating that eternal snow, one has a feeling analogous to pride. It must be an indistinct sense of triumph at mastering by comprehension that which we know to be insuperable by bodily exertion.

April 9th.—Last night an elephant belonging to the Aumil got loose, and threw the camp into great confusion. He killed his mahout, who had probably on some occasion maltreated him, for the animal did not attempt to injure any one else. I am told that elephants will retain for a long time a keen remembrance of any peculiar harshness used towards them. The people, fearful of his doing more mischief, drove him out of camp by pushing torches at him; and he betook himself to a wood, whence he has not yet returned.

April 10th.—We marched at an early hour, designing to beat some coverts which lay little wide of our route. The first of them was a wet hollow with thick reeds in parts of it. Following its course without success, we found it widen into what is called here a jheel, that is, an extensive pool with a scattering of reeds, which implies the water to be of no considerable depth. The ground having been sound in such portions of the hollow through which we had passed as were covered with water, it was taken for granted the bottom of the jheel would be so likewise. We, therefore, attempted confidently to cross it. Suddenly, my elephant sank in the mud till the water reached its eyes. The situation was perilous in the extreme. To get off from the elephant was out of the question, on account of the mud. On the other hand, it was with the greatest difficulty I could save myself from being thrown out of the howdah, so violent were the jerks given by the elephant in its endeavours to extricate itself. In making these exertions, it often laid the side of the howdah nearly flat on the water. After long struggling, the animal managed to turn itself round, and I could feel that it was

bending up first one of its forelegs, and then the other upon the firmer ground, whence we had made our plunge. They have prodigious force in drawing themselves forward when they have got upon their knees, so that when this was effected we soon got out. The elephant was much strained.

April 13th.—On the 11th, we marched twelve miles, approaching obliquely the hills. Our route lay through portions of the forest which separated extensive plains prepared for a rice crop in the rainy season. There was nothing particular but the appearance of several canoes at a village remote from any stream. Such a provision shows what a deluge must rest upon this plain during the wet period of the year. We encamped near a hamlet called Bughwora-Tal, and we halted there yesterday, which was Sunday. This position was close to the edge of the forest, through which to the first range of hills the distance cannot be more than three miles. This morning we advanced to Mussarah. From an alteration in the direction of the first hills, which now trend eastward instead of south-east, we increased our distance from the mountains by preserving our former course.

April 15th.—We marched yesterday to Hutteea Coon, and have this day encamped at Huneea. No shooting in the course of either march, for the whole country is an interrupted sheet of cultivation. Great industry is evidently employed, yet the implements of husbandry are wretched. The people live in small hamlets of huts, built with reeds or matting, upon a rude framework of wood which the neighbouring forest supplies.

April 19th.—We reached Jurmah Kummereea this morning, Sunday. We had the discomfort of finding that a very bad fever was raging in the villages around us, though we had made the march expressly to get out of the way of malady prevailing near our last encampment.

April 21st.—Yesterday morning we moved our camp about three miles from the infected villages; and it was

placed on the bank of the Bangunga, a fine pure stream, while we went to beat some jungles which had been described to us as excellent by the people of the neighbourhood. After having been led a great distance, we found the supposed jungles to be places unfit for sheltering game; our disappointment was balanced to me by the opportunity of seeing many flowering shrubs and trees with which I was not before acquainted; some fragrant, others beautiful. A low tree, which appeared to me to be a sort of guava (different from the West Indian), was in great profusion. This morning we marched at half-past three.

April 22nd.—Our camp remained on the same ground as yesterday. The Aumil, his brother, and his nephew had their audience of leave, when I conferred on them dresses of honour in token of my having been satisfied with their attentions.

April 24th.—Our tents were sent forward to be pitched on the bank of the Tenavie.

April 25th.—We encamped about two miles east of Lotun, avoiding that place, as the pestilence was committing ravages in it.

April 26th.—We marched to Secundra, and took up our ground between a fine running stream and a large jheel of clear water. No spot could appear more healthy, yet we had the mortification of finding that the pestilence was in all the surrounding villages. It has broken out in our camp; but our experience in the manner of treating it has stood us in good stead. On the first attack, about twenty grains of calomel are put upon the tongue and washed down with spirits or peppermint water. It seems as if the sudden impulse given to the stomach by this quantity of calomel prepared the nerves of it for the subsequent administration of laudanum, which was given largely with peppermint and spirits.

April 28th.—This morning we marched to Natoon. Several deserted villages were pointed out to me. The inhabitants had been forced to give up the cultivation of that tract on account of the quantity of wild elephants who destroyed the crops. The poor people had raised several small platforms, on very strong posts, with the notion that by using their matchlocks from them they might frighten away the spoilers; but the elephants pulled several of the men down with their trunks, and then trampled them to death. Three men were killed in this manner in one night.

April 29th.—Reached Phoolwar, where we were met by the pleasing account that Lieutenant-Colonel Adams had given Bajee Rao a severe blow. When Bajee Rao's fortunes seemed desperate in his own territories, the Rajah of Nagpore secretly invited him to push with his army for that capital, where our force was (he represented) small, and where Bajee Rao should be joined by the Rajah and all his troops. We luckily got at that correspondence. The Rajah and his ministers were seized. When the ministers found we were in possession of the whole business, they confessed without reserve, and upbraided the Rajah to his face for having forced them against their repeated remonstrances to take a part in this act of treachery. The Rajah answered, that it was his duty to risk ruin for the service of the Peishwa, who was his legitimate superior in the Mahratta empire, and that as the ruin had fallen on him, he must bear it. When this principle shows itself to be paramount to all ties of faith, it is lucky we have been forced to break down the Mahratta power. Bajee Rao, on approaching the Wurda, learned the seizure and deposition of his brother conspirator. He then halted, probably, to wait answers from Scindiah, to whom he had sent vakeels. The approach of Brigadier-General Doveton obliged him to move and take a northerly course; but Lieutenant-Colonel Adams ably headed him. The Mahratta army was thrown into immediate confusion by a few rounds from our horse artillery, followed by a charge of cavalry, the infantry of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams' division not having been able to keep up in a march of thirty-four miles. About

400 of the enemy were killed, and five brass field-pieces taken from them. *The constrained change of route, and the disorder of all parts of Bajee Rao's force, will probably enable Brigadier-General Doveton to overtake the enemy, and complete the work which the extreme fatigue of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams' cavalry unavoidably left imperfect.

April 30th.—Arrived at Goruckpore. It was time that we should quit the field, for the heat is now very great. During the last two days, with all the artificial management so well understood in this country, I could not keep the thermometer in my tent lower than a hundred.

May 5th.—I have had time to look around me, and observe the nature of this station. The soil appears very poor, which accounts for the paucity of cultivation in the immediate neighbourhood of a town containing sixty thousand inhabitants. The forest, that is to say a prolongation of it, comes within half a mile of the cantonments, and is full of wild elephants, often dangerous for those who late in the evening travel through it. Tigers also haunt the vicinity but cannot be pursued among the trees. Decayed tombs, and groves of old mango trees, so extensive as to give the environs the appearance of a vast wood, attest that Goruckpore must at some former period have been a place of considerable wealth and importance. It is curious, that out of this multitude of mango trees not one has been grafted, so that the fruit is uniformly bad. Even in the gardens of the Europeans, little management has been shown in the culture of fruit, though peaches, grapes, and figs are said to thrive well here. The only fruit now in season is an apple about the size of an English crab, mild, mealy, and nearly without flavour. Nobody has yet thought of improving them by grafting, notwithstanding the natives are expert in that process.

May 8th.—I this day received a deputation from the Government of Nepaul. It consisted of Kajee Bulner Sing, Dobeë Bhuggut, and Kundhur Gunput Oopadheea. The first appeared a well-bred man, frank, though polished and respect-

ful in his manner. The second seemed very intelligent, and equally well-mannered. The third was an expletive. There was something comic in the notion of their being sent to compliment me on my successes over those with whom they had been secretly negotiating a league against us; but, in dealing with governments as well as with individuals, one should give every facility for the treading back a false step. On that account, I studied to show cheerful courtesy to these deputies, of which they appeared, and subsequently expressed themselves, duly sensible. I gave private presents to each of them, as well as khelauts or dresses of distinction. They had brought for me some of the beautiful pheasants of the hills—the crimson kind figured by Edwards, and the green and gold called in some late publication the Impeyan Pheasant. The poor birds were, when produced, so overcome by the heat that it was evident they could not be kept alive. One of the strong mountain-sheep, on which packs of goods are brought from Tartary to Nepaul, was presented to me; likewise an animal which I conceive to be the moufflon described by Buffon, and whence he imagines the various breeds of domesticated sheep to have been deduced.

May 17th.—The proceedings of several general courts-martial have lately been perused by me here in ordinary course. They substantiate a fact, which I had noticed before, deserving of remark. The number of sepoys tried for the murder of their comrades is very considerable. In our native regiments, none but men of high caste are suffered to enlist; so that the individuals being ordinarily connected with respectable families, have the best chance to be impressed with any just sentiments or principles of retribution that may be afloat in the country. A dignity, too, is attached by general opinion in India to the character of a soldier; whence the sepoy may be expected to habituate his mind to a generous tone of thought. This latter impulse does influence the conduct of the sepoy with regard to certain points, but does not appear to have any effect upon it relatively to the crime here contemplated. In the many instances of that crime brought before me, there is not one in which it has been

committed in momentary passion. The cases are uniformly marked with deliberateness; and it is astonishing how trifling a motive, whether referable to cupidity or spleen, is sufficient to prompt assassination. The gain of four or five rupees, or the gratification of the most petty pique, seems quite enough to urge the sepoy to the cold-blooded murder of his fellow-soldier and intimate companion. The cause lies in this, that the perpetrator has no conception of the atrocity of the act. Let this be the answer to those who contend that it is unwise to disseminate instruction among the multitude. Absence of instruction necessarily implies destitution of morality. God be praised, we have been successful in extinguishing a system of rapine which was not only the unremitting scourge of an immense population, but depraved its habits by example, and inflicted necessities, while it stood an obstacle to every kind of improvement. It is befitting the British name and character that advantage should be taken of the opening which we have effected, and that establishments should be introduced or stimulated by us which may rear a rising generation in some knowledge of social duties. A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest.

May 21st.—The deposed Rajah of Nagpore, Appa Sahib, has made his escape from the escort, which was conducting him to Allahabad, where he was to reside within the fortress till the Government of his cousin (a minor) should have acquired stability. When the danger of a counter-revolution should be over, it was intended that he should have liberty to live in the city of Benares with the allowance of a hand-

some income. His flight may be attended with some trouble to us. Though he is destitute of energetic qualities, any person of prominent rank, whose success would lead to the enriching his adherents, readily collects in this country active and turbulent adventurers versed in the modes of assembling the needy armed vagrants with which Central India swarms; and Appa Sahib, from the delicacy observed in not searching him when he was sent from Nagpore, carried off some of the crown jewels of great value. It is at least consolatory that our disinclination to impose on the prisoner any restraint which might subsequently have been thought by us more than necessary, has given him the facility of getting away. Perfidious as he had been, and incorrigibly persevering in that treachery, there is a commiseration due to fallen greatness, which should forbid the giving it a mortification not absolutely indispensable for one's own security. We erred in our calculation of the sufficiency of precautions, but we erred on the right side.

June 1st.—Bajee Rao, the late Peishwa, is in the neighbourhood of Asseer-Gurh, with a slender force. His troops were so dispirited, and so harassed by the constant pursuit which they had suffered, that large bodies quitted him with the professed purpose of going to their homes in the Poonah State, and submitting to the British Government. Chimnajee Appa (Bajee Rao's brother) and Appa Dessye Nepaunkur, one of the principal Mahratta chiefs, carried off their followers with this intention some time ago. They have since surrendered themselves to Mr. Elphinstone. Bajee Rao's object in crossing the Tapti and taking his present course, was to push for Gwalior. He trusted that his appearance there, and the influence of his office upon Scindiah's sirdars, would force the Maharajah to take the field in his favour. All the passes, however, are so well watched by competent corps, that Bajee Rao has found the plan impracticable. Unable to retire again across the Tapti on account of Brigadier-General Doveton's arrival on the opposite bank, Bajee Rao has sent a negotiator to Sir J. Malcolm. He has been informed that he can never be permitted to hold again a

public station. If he shall surrender himself, he will be suffered to reside at Benares, with a fit allowance for the maintenance of a household becoming a person of rank; but if his decision be not immediate he will be attacked. Our detachments are closing round him. The fear of passing the rest of his days in confinement, which, were he taken, would be his lot in punishment of his wanton and venomous treachery, will probably make him throw himself on our mercy. What a proud situation he has lost through devotion to a low, illiterate, and profligate favourite. It is not probable that Scindiah's governor of Asseer-Gurh will admit Bajee Rao into it. He knows that we possess the Maharajah's order for the surrender of it to us, though the course of affairs rendered it unnecessary for us to enforce it; and were that order now to be brought forward, the Killehdar's disobedience to it would place him in the light of a rebel. The speedy reduction of Mundelah by Major-General Marshall, and of Chanda by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams holds forth to the Killehdar an intelligible warning, that by sheltering the ex-Peishwa in his fort (which would entail immediate attack from us), he would only hopelessly involve himself in a worse condition than that of the fugitive.

June 10th.—The radical policy of the Mahrattas was oddly avowed lately by an agent of Scindiah's. The rights or possessions of the Mahratta chiefs are strangely intermixed with those of the different rajahs between the Jumna and the Nerbudda. In one instance there was a district enveloped in the territories of the Rajah of Boondée, the annual revenue of which was divisible in equal portions between the latter chief, Holkar, and Scindiah. As the two Mahratta Princes kept agents there to watch over their shares, there was an obvious chance of quarrels; and we wished to secure the Boondée chief, who had been taken under our protection, against any vexatious pretension on the part of his neighbours. It was therefore proposed that Scindiah should cede his title to any income from the district in question, and should receive from us certain villages producing a rent considerably beyond what we wished him

to give up. A strong disinclination to close with this proposal was manifested. When it was urged that Scindiah would not only be a great pecuniary gainer by the exchange, but that he would acquire a tract which actually connected itself with his old possessions, and would be exclusively his, the Mahratta negotiator denied that the circumstance of sole occupancy could be an advantage to his master equal to what the Maharajah enjoyed by his co-partnership in the Boondee district. On surprise being expressed at this assertion, he explained it by saying, "We Mahrattas have a maxim that it is well to have a finger in every man's dish." His meaning was, that there was solid value in pretexts for interference which would afford opportunities of pillage or extortion.

June 17th.—Bajee Rao has submitted and placed himself in the hands of Sir John Malcolm. He had been so surrounded that resistance or retreat was equally impossible. That he will live tranquilly on the generous allowance (equal to one hundred thousand pounds yearly) which we have assigned to him, is not believed by me. His intriguing spirit never will be at rest. Though he has lost much treasure in the field, and though Mr. Elphinstone obtained possession of a hoard of his valued at seventy-five lacs, he certainly has with him considerable riches in jewels. They will furnish the means for any sudden collection of troops; as whosoever has money in this country may always find adventures provided with horses and arms ready to enrol themselves for pay without the least consideration for the cause; and he will seek to fashion a juncture in which his funds may be so employed. The conspiracy would probably be discovered, and only entail on him an imprisonment which we have been loath to inflict, notwithstanding his former guilt. In the meantime, this event terminates the war, and completes the destruction of the Mahratta power. The resources of Scindiah will now dwindle into absolute insignificance; and he must, without recurrence to a subsidiary treaty, look to the British Government for the maintenance of his authority over his own subjects. The dispersed plunderers having

now no head under whom they could reunite, will look out for other modes of subsistence; and it is to be hoped that a tranquillity will prevail in Central India which we may improve to noble purposes. The introduction of instruction into those countries, where the want of information and of principle is universal, is an object becoming the British Government. It is very practicable. Detachments of youths who have been rendered competent at the Lancasterian schools in Bengal under the missionaries, should be despatched under proper leaders to disseminate that method of teaching. Its progress would soon enable numbers to read and comprehend books of moral inculcation in the Hindostanee language. Lady Hastings caused a compilation of apologues, and of maxims relative to social duties, to be printed for the use of her school at Barrackpore. It was not only studied, to all appearance profitably, by the boys, but many individuals of high caste in the neighbourhood used to apply for the perusal of copies. It has all the attraction of a novelty, while the simplicity of what it recommends is likely to make impression on minds to which any reflection on the topics was never before suggested.

June 19th.—It rained very heavily yesterday. Riding, this morning, over a large tract of ground which had been peculiarly arid, I saw a number of frogs, of the fullest size, sitting round a splash of the water which had so recently fallen. They were so nearly white that only a slight tinge of yellow was perceivable in the colour. I was told that they were but just come out of the earth, and that in two or three days their skins would have reassumed their natural appearance, which is exactly like that of the frogs in England. It was evident that the skins had been bleached by their long seclusion from light; yet I am not aware that this effect is observed upon frogs in Europe, on their coming forth from their winter retreats; and I suspect that some property of the soil must aid the change here. It seemed to me that these frogs were studiously exposing themselves to the sun.

July 3rd.—Having embarked yesterday evening, we this

morning began our course down the Rapti. This river rises between the first and second ridges of the mountains, so that it receives no accession from the melting of the snows, and it has now no strength of current. Fortunately, it rose above two feet last night, from heavy rain which had fallen the day before; a circumstance important for the security of our boats, which are otherwise liable to founder by striking on the trunks of trees half-embedded in the sands under water. The Rapti is not now wider at Goruckpore than the Thames at Hampton Court but its banks show that late in the rainy season it becomes a considerable stream.

July 6th.—This day we entered the Gogra, which we found to be at least two miles wide. The current is not so rapid as I had been taught to expect, whence it may be inferred that the river has not yet attained its height. We lost but one boat in coming down the Rapti; probably it had touched on some spur of a submerged tree, for immediately after it had been perceived to leak it filled with surprising quickness; as it happened to go down in shallow water the men and horses (belonging to the bodyguard) were all saved.

July 8th.—Yesterday I quitted the *Sonamukhee* soon after she had weighed anchor, and I rowed ahead to look at a remarkable banyan tree, close to the village of Revel-Gunge, near the confluence of the Gogra and the Ganges. It must at one period have been a beautiful tree; but the parent stem has long been cut away; so that what remains appears an assemblage of trees laterally connected in singular and fantastic ways. It has the merit of a group, and exhibits the still continuing process of originally pendant fibres swelling into new trunks. There is disappointment, however, from the want of evidence to the eye that the mass is the produce of one stock. It is unaccountable that when the natives attach a religious veneration to trees of this sort, which have spread themselves to any tolerable degree, no trouble seems ever to be taken for aiding the extension of such as would offer every invitation to the care. To fence

the tree against cattle, which browse greedily on the tender filaments, is all the attention necessary. Having returned to the *Sonamukhee*, we entered the Ganges about one o'clock. It had then begun to blow hard from the east. The adverse wind, and the roughness of the water occasioned by the opposition of the gale to the stream, soon scattered our fleet sadly, and I was compelled to anchor, lest I might hazard the safety of some of the vessels by overtaking the efforts of the crews. The gale continued violent all night, and has persevered this day, constraining us to remain in our positions, with little communication between the vessels.

July 9th.—The gale having subsided, we weighed anchor this morning and arrived early in the afternoon at Dinapore. No accident had happened in our little fleet, which is very fortunate, considering the situation where the gale found us. As the Ganges is above five miles wide in that part, and the wind had to blow up a reach of at least double that extent, the force of the waves was considerable. A circumstance related to me by Mr. Wemyss, collector of the district, may give a notion of the ravages committed by the pestilence. It raged here nearly about the time when our camp in Bundelcund was suffering from it, and more than two hundred and fifty persons were buried out of two moderate-sized villages. We shall never have any tolerable conception of the aggregate loss in these provinces, but it must have been dreadful.

July 10th.—Though the wind was rather adverse, it was moderate, and the strength of the stream carried us well past Patna this morning. We had not long been clear of the city, keeping as close as we could to the windward shore, when the wind suddenly shifted and drove us with irresistible force towards the land. Such vessels as had time let go their anchors. Mine luckily held. Five vessels were wrecked, and some others received damage; all the people of the vessels which went down were saved.

July 13th.—We have this day anchored close to

Monghyr, the strength of the wind against the violent current forming whirlpools through which we dare not trust our heavy-laden baggage boats. The shift of wind on the 10th did not last. The gale returned to its former quarter, and has continued from the east with a violence which has annoyed us much. One of our store-boats drifted and was in great peril. An officer reprehended a fellow aboard her who sat smoking instead of assisting in exertions for the safety of the vessel and of his own life, though the dress and appearance of the man indicated him to be a dandee or waterman, the fellow replied with perfect composure that he had nothing more to do with the vessel, as he had hired a substitute who was then at the oar, and he himself had paid for his passage to Baughlipore.

September 2nd.—A sad chasm exists in my journal. Just after we had passed Monghyr, which a favourable shift of wind enabled us to do with safety to all the boats, packets from England came to occupy my attention. They were in two or three days succeeded by voluminous papers from the Council; and as no remarkable incident presented itself, I neglected my entries. On landing at Calcutta on the 23rd July, I found such an arrear of business waiting for me as could not but wholly engross my time and thoughts. Having mentioned my landing at Calcutta, I ought not to omit saying how deeply I felt the behaviour of the immense crowd of natives assembled along the road by which I walked from the ghaut to the Government House. All was silence; but there was something in the kind and respectfully welcoming looks of the poor people infinitely more touching than the loudest shouts of joy could have been.

September 6th.—The advantage that may be gained by giving a little turn to an occurrence in politics has been just strongly exemplified. A vessel has arrived from Rangoon with some Burmese officers, who are probably of more consequence than they represent themselves. Their ostensible purpose in coming hither is to make inquiry respecting some delinquents who have fled from their state; their real object,

as may be gathered not only from likelihood but from their repeated questions to individuals, is evidently to ascertain if the Mahrattas had been beaten down as completely as rumour asserted. In the extensive conspiracy of the Peishwa, begun before my arrival in this country, the co-operation of the Burman Empire against our power formed a part. The emissaries of the Peishwa succeeded perfectly with the King; and His Majesty favoured us, early this year, with the obliging requisition that we should cede to him Moorshadabad and the provinces to the east of it, which he deigned to say were all natural dependencies of his throne. The ambassador charged with this courteous communication was detained at Dacca while the letter was forwarded to me. I directed the letter to be returned to the King, not through the ambassador, but by way of Rangoon, with a friendly representation that I knew His Majesty's wisdom too well to be the dupe of the artifice which had been attempted; that I sent to him a letter purporting to be from him, but clearly forged by some of his frontier chieftains, who thought they might find personal advantage in a rupture, though it would be injurious to both countries; and that I was so confident of His Majesty's indignation at the profligate effort that I felt the ties of our amity drawn closer by it. Fortunately for the King, the rainy season prevented his acting till the accounts of our successes had reached his ears, and he has now despatched these officers to satisfy themselves whether the game was really over. He will now compliment my sagacity in detecting the forgery, and will make use of the loophole to withdraw undiscredited. The circumstance shows, too, the benefit of rapidity in war. Had our operations been less speedily decisive, we should have been obliged to devote a force (ill spared) to prevent that devastation of our territories which His Majesty graciously threatened in our default of obedience.

September 19th.—A curious circumstance has occurred. I went out in my carriage. As is the custom in this country, the groom, or dresser, of each horse was ready to accompany it; but at starting, one of the four turned back, leaving the three others to proceed. The fellow soon rejoined us by

taking a short-cut across a place round which the carriage had to make a degree of circuit. When I had got home, another of the syces told his comrades that he must hasten for a draught of water, and he ran before them to the building where they are lodged. Unluckily, he found the cooking-pot taken off the fire, and either through hunger, or through thinking it a good joke to be beforehand with his messmates, began to feed eagerly. The cook, coming in, called to him to stop, telling him he had seen the syce who had slunk back put something into the pot and stir it about, imagining himself unperceived. It had been the cook's intention to advise the other syces not to taste the food till they had made the fellow eat some of it. On this being explained to them, they desired the villain to eat some of the mess. This he declined, saying that as he found himself discovered it did not signify if he avowed his object, which was to make all of them mad, and thereby get them turned away from my service. I learn that a drug which produces this effect is well-known among the syces. The poor fellow who took part of the food became completely insane in a few hours, and his comrades say he will remain in that state for three or four months, but that the drug never occasions death. In the Upper Provinces, it is a frequent practice for wretches, under the appearance of travellers, to attach themselves to any party journeying on the road, and then (as if in return for the protection afforded) to offer to the latter a share in some food, which they pretend to have obtained in charity. The food is prepared, and produces rapid stupefaction, often, though not always, followed by death; the helpless creatures are then plundered by their new companions. The notoriety of the trick, and the proclamations of the magistrates to put people on their guard, do not prevent continued instances of this.

September 27th.—I happened to mention to an engineer officer the change which had, in the course of one rainy season, taken place at Dinapore. The cantonments were a considerable distance from the Ganges, and one used to go some way up a nullah to reach them. The violence of the

river has swept away all the intervening land, so that the barracks are now on the bank of the Ganges. The officer related to me a much more remarkable alteration, which he had the opportunity of ascertaining most accurately. He had been encamped at Surdah, three hundred yards from the Ganges, on a bank of sand and clay, which was twenty-four feet above the level of the water. Returning to the place after the rains, he found that the tract on which his tent had stood was wholly swept away. Being able to ascertain the exact spot where he had resided, by a distance measured at the time from a silk factory, he sounded the water there; the depth was thirty feet. From this experiment he could establish that a mass of earth, two miles in length, fifty-five feet in depth, and on an average two hundred and fifty yards broad, had been carried away in one season. This gives some notion of the formidable currents which are to be encountered by those who have to proceed up the river.

October 6th.—This day I went to the Rumnah. It is a spot of some extent, covered with high jungle grass, useful for thatching. I purchase the standing crop every year from the village to which it belongs, at a rate which the villagers conscientiously do not carry to more than thrice what it ought to be. My object is to have a degree of sport now and then in the cold season by seeking for a few wild hogs and partridges which haunt the place. As the villagers are allowed to carry away all the grass cut to make openings through the jungle, and, moreover, get at the close of the season all that has not been trampled by the elephants, they have a decent advantage in the bargain. A curious circumstance was mentioned to me on the spot. A curious circum- or creek, with high steep banks, bounds one side of the Rumnah. A man was sitting on the bank mending his net, when an alligator crept out of the nullah at a considerable distance from him, and, coming behind the man, seized and carried the poor wretch into the water. There was a cunning as well as a boldness in this act which I should not have attributed to an alligator; but the fact was testified to us by

so many persons who actually saw it, that I cannot doubt the truth of the relation.

October 14th.—I have finally settled a business which I had anxiously at heart. A son of the Rev. Dr. Carey, one of the Baptist missionaries, has undertaken the introduction of village schools in Rajpootana, on Lancaster's plan. He takes up with him, for this purpose, several native boys, educated at Lady Hastings' School, and at the school of the missionaries. I have allotted six thousand rupees for this experiment, without trespassing on the Company. There was an occurrence in which I was thought exposed to hazard, and the Nawab Vizeer, as an act of devotion on account of my escape, wanted to have three thousand rupees scattered among the beggars. I suggested that a much better use might be drawn from the money, by making it furnish some instruction to ignorant natives, than in flinging it to idlers who were mendicants, not from necessity, but by profession. The Nawab Vizeer caught readily at the project and requested that the money might be so applied. By adding an equal sum of my own to it, I make it our joint effort, and the fund is fully sufficient for the trial. I have now fashioned everything respecting it completely to my satisfaction. The want of instruction in the vast territory of Rajpootana, containing several independent states, may be judged by this; the first minister of Jyepore, a man otherwise of ability, cannot write, and can scarcely read. The unremitting course of spoliation which has ravaged those fine countries for the last fifty years produced a sort of despair, which made everyone neglect all concerns but that of living through the passing day.

November 7th.—I have been noticing a number of those minute ants which swarm about our rooms, employed in dragging a dead hornet along the floor. Their mode of conquering insects so prodigiously beyond their own size, and which one might suppose formidable for them, had on prior occasions been observed by me. When they find any large insect exhausted and incapable of active efforts to

escape, they surround it in multitudes, clambering up to its head in rapid succession, and each one infusing its venom. The poison soon dispatches the animal assailed; then the body is dragged away to some safe place, generally the little vacancy left between the mat and the wall. How these ants, which at other times one sees only straggling singly over the wide extent of the floor in a large room, can so suddenly assemble in numbers to attack their prey is a curious question. That they do give each other intimation cannot be doubted. I remember having seen three parties, each dragging a large moth along the floor in the same direction, with the interval of about a yard between the parties. A little in front of each set, several ants were running with great exertion, spreading themselves at times to right and left of the line by which their prize was to be carried. I remarked that, although they frequently ran back to those who were dragging the prey, they did not strive to take share in that labour, but immediately hastened forward again. It struck me that their business must be to ascertain if the course was clear ahead, and to communicate the assurance to their comrades. To try if it was so I placed my foot between the second and last of the parties, striking the ground with it gently. When the explorers came within the concussion, they were evidently alarmed, and turned back in great haste to their body; upon which the party instantly changed its route, carrying off the moth at right angles from their former direction. Two facts seem settled by the experiment; first, that intimation of danger was distinctly conveyed; secondly, that the ants were not bearing their burden to any fixed domicile. I have never been able to discover a nest of those ants, and I believe them to be completely migratory, because, though I have sometimes found a number of them congregated behind a shutter at night, in three or four nights after there would not be one in the place. I thence surmise that they do not drag apart for their own food the insects which they kill, but that they carry their prey to a safe corner in order to lay their eggs in it, so as that the little worms when hatched (which, I suppose, takes place rapidly) may have sustenance. The

ants reared in that way would probably attach themselves, as soon as they attained their perfect shape, to the first gangs they met. No investigation of this sort can be frivolous when the deductions from such petty premises lead to no less an end than a juster perception of the dispensations of Almighty wisdom. The remark I have made to-day suggests a pregnant conclusion. Their own support, if not the nourishment of their young, exacts from these ants that they shall live in a state of perpetually active exertion for massacring other animals. There is nothing that confounds the mind more than the contemplation of that arrangement by which certain sorts of creatures can only maintain existence through killing others; by which, indeed, such extra provision appears made for the destruction of animated being as that many kinds seem to have been framed with dispositions insufferably teasing and noxious to others, so that the slaughter of multitudes of them is secured without the agency of any impulse to prey upon them. Life presents itself as bestowed only for the purpose of its being extinguished, and this inscrutable end appears as fully answered after an hour's existence as after a protracted term. Why beings should be created and endowed with exquisite sensitiveness merely to suffer and be destroyed is a question which bewilders thought whensoever it is reflected upon. We attempt to reconcile the difficulty by saying that, when one distinguishes in other respects such bountiful adaptations for the creature called into life, the same Beneficence must regulate the other portion of the animal's destiny, though we are not capable of unravelling it; and we endeavour to satisfy ourselves with this persuasion. Surely, a more illogical process cannot be imagined than, instead of balancing contradictory phenomena, the assuming bounty in the second case, where the circumstances are diametrically opposed in their nature to those whence we infer Beneficence in the first. In consequence, I do not believe that any one could steadily examine the operation of his mind on this subject without being sensible that his acquiescence in the popular conclusion is an effort of reverence, not a result of perfect conviction. We have a strong inclination to believe firmly that which is so

consonant to our notions respecting the goodness of the Creator; yet we cannot establish that point of creed by the same measurements which influence our opinion decisively on other parts of the question. There is one mode of considering the matter, which perhaps disentangles it. Our reason, whence we deduce all consequences which we feel and pronounce to be certain, is possibly allowed to act only in prescribed lines. There are points which, though partially and obscurely exposed to our mental ken, appear not to be subjected to our ratiocination. When we attempt to parallel any one of those with deductions fashioned from the habitual workings of our reason, we forcibly endeavour to square the circumstance with rules to which it can have no relation. Considered by our ordinary course of conceptions, incongruity, discordance, repulsion must be the issue. But these belong to the inapplicable standard, not to the intrinsic quality of the fact. In the latter, therefore, nothing exists really repugnant to the belief which we are prone to entertain; and when it is so shown that our reason does not protest against the faith, we are entitled to feel comfortable in a solution correspondent, as to its bearings, with our just reliance on the kindness of an Almighty Father.

December 13th.—We have had accounts of the Rajah of Jyepore's death. Two of his wives and two female slaves burned themselves on the funeral pile with his body. I am conscious that such a circumstance does not occasion here those painful and revolted feelings which would arise in one's mind were one removed to the distance of England from the scene. It is not that the frequency of the occurrence causes apathy, but here one sees in this disgusting and barbarous custom relations with a variety of particulars in the forms of society, which though almost impossible to be detailed, take off from the strangeness of the procedure. A blind ignorance, which makes the poor victim credit all that is told her by the Brahmin, is the cause more immediately influential. The Brahmin urges the sacrifice from superstition and attachment to habits; but it is to be apprehended that he is often bribed to exert himself in overcoming the

fears of the hapless woman; because the family of the deceased husband save by the immolation of the widow the third of the defunct's property, which would otherwise go to her. The miserable condition to which a woman is reduced when left childless at the death of her husband forcibly aids the inculcations of the Brahmin. She is, to estimation and treatment, reduced below the rank of the meanest servant. She cannot marry again; she has no chance of enjoying society; she must not even, though she have money, set up an independent establishment for herself; and her own paternal or maternal family have, with the usual absence of all affectionate ties among these people, altogether cast her off from the hour of her first repairing to her husband's roof. Despair, therefore, conspires with bigotry and enthusiasm to make her take a step reconciled to the contemplation of women in this country from their earliest youth; while the absolute incapacity of such an uninformed mind as hers to have any distinct sense of the pangs she must undergo promotes the obstinacy of her resolution.

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